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*PHILIP King of Macedon hearing his Sons
PERSEUS and DEMETRIUS.*

Published Feb. 1st 1754, by J. & P. Knapton,

THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

Translated from the FRENCH.

VOL. VI.

THE FIFTH EDITION,

Illustrated with COPPER-PLATES, and a Set of MAPS of Ancient Geography coloured, drawn by the *Sieur D'Anville*, Geographer to the King of France.

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(a) **I** Related in the preceding volume how Ptolemy Philopator, worn out with riots and excesses, had come to his end, after having reigned seventeen years. As the only persons present when that monarch expired were Agathocles, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as possible from the publick, in order that they might have time to carry off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They also formed a plan to maintain the authority they had enjoyed under the late

A. M.
3800.
Ant. J. C.
204.

(a) Justin. l. xxx. c. 2. Polyb. l. xv. p. 712—720.

king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his son, named Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five years old. They imagined this might be easily done, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had succeeded Sosibis in the ministry; and accordingly they concerted measures to dispatch him.

At last they informed the publick of the king's death. Immediately a great council of the * Macedonians was assembled, on which Agathocles and Agathoclea were present. Agathocles, after shedding abundance of tears, begins by imploring their protection for the young king, whom he held in his arms. He told them that his royal father, in his expiring moments, had committed him to the care of Agathoclea, whom he pointed out to them; and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians. That for this reason he was come to implore their assistance against Tlepolemus, who, as he had certain advice, had formed the design of usurping the crown. He added, that he had brought witnesses expressly to prove his treason, and at the same time offered to produce them. He imagined that by this weak artifice, Tlepolemus would be immediately dispatched, and that in consequence he might easily obtain the regency; but the artifice was too gross, and the people immediately swore the destruction of Agathocles, his sister, and all their creatures. This last attempt recalling to their remembrance their other crimes, all the inhabitants of Alexandria rose against them. The young king was taken out of their hands, and seated on the throne in Hippodrome. After which Agathocles, his sister, and Cæinathe his mother, were brought before the king, and all three put to death as by his order. The populace exposed their dead bodies to all the indignities possible; dragging them through the streets, and tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the same treatment, and not one of them

* Polybius gives this name to posterity of the founders of Alexandria, who descended from the Macedonians, and the same privileges had been granted.

was spared. The usual and just end of those unworthy favourites, who abuse the confidence of their sovereign to oppress the people, and who never punish those who resemble themselves.

Philammon, the assassin, who had been hired to murder Arsinoë, being returned from Cyrene to Alexandria, two or three days before this tumult broke out, the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had immediate notice of it, and taking this opportunity which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge their mistress's death. Accordingly they broke open the door of the house where he was, and killed him with clubs and stones.

The care of the king's person, till otherwise provided for, was given to Sosibes, son to him who had governed during the three last reigns. History does not inform us whether he was still alive; but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he had passed above threescore years in the administration. (b) No minister was ever more cunning or more corrupt than this Sosibes. He made no scruple of committing the blackest crimes, provided they conduced to his ends. Polybius imputes to him the murder of Lyfimachus son of Ptolemy, and of Arsinoë daughter of that Lyfimachus; of Magas son of Ptolemy, and of Berenice daughter of Magas; of Berenice mother to Ptolemy Philopator; of Cleomenes king of Sparta; and lastly, of Arsinoë daughter of Berenice. It is surprizing that, notwithstanding a conduct of so much inhumanity and cruelty in his administration, he should support himself so long, and at last come to a peaceable end.

(c) Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedonia, during the whole reign of Ptolemy Philopator, had discovered the strongest zeal for the interest of that monarch, and were ready to assist him on all occasions. Yet; no sooner was he dead, leaving behind him an infant, whom the laws of humanity and

A. M.
3801.
Ant. J. C.
203.

(b) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 64.
l. xv. p. 707, & 708.

(c) Polyb. l. iii. p. 159. Id.

justice enjoined them not to disturb in the possession of his father's kingdom, but they immediately join in a criminal alliance, and excite each other to take off the lawful heir, and divide his dominions between them. Philip was to have Caria, Lybia, Cyrenaica, and Egypt; and Antiochus all the rest. With this view, the latter entered Cœlosyria and Palestine; and, in less than two campaigns, made an entire conquest of those two provinces, with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt, says Polybius, would not have been quite so glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloss over their crimes with some specious pretence; but so far from doing this, their injustice and cruelty were so barefaced, that to them was applied what is generally said of fishes, that the large ones, though of the same species, prey on the lesser. One would be tempted, continues the same author, at seeing the most sacred laws of society so openly violated, to accuse Providence of being indifferent and insensible to the most horrid crimes. But it fully justified its conduct, by punishing those two kings according to their deserts; and made such an example of them, as ought in all succeeding ages to deter others from following their example. For, whilst they are meditating to dispossess a weak and helpless infant of his kingdom, by piece-meal, Providence raised up the Romans against them, who entirely subverted the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus, and reduced their successors to almost as great calamities, as those with which they intended to crush the infant king.

(*d*) During that time, Philip was engaged in a war against the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconsiderable advantage, in a naval engagement near the island of Lade, opposite to the city of Miletus.

A. M. 3802. Ant. J. C. 202. (*e*) The next year he invaded Attalus, and advanced as far as Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. But all his efforts in assaulting that city being to no purpose, he turned his rage and fury against the gods;

(*d*) Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 70, & 73. p. 66. Diod. Ib. p. 294.

(*e*) Polyb. Ib.

and

and not satisfied with burning their temples, he demolished statues, broke to pieces their altars, and even pulled up the stones from their foundations, that not the least footsteps of them might remain.

He was not more successful against the Rhodians. Having already fought them with but indifferent success, he ventured a second battle off the island of Chio. Attalus had united his fleet to that of the Rhodians, and Philip was defeated with considerable loss. There were killed, in his army, three thousand Macedonians, and six thousand allies; and two thousand Macedonians and confederates, with seven hundred Egyptians, were taken prisoners. The Rhodians lost but sixty men, and Attalus threescore and ten.

Philip ascribed all the glory of this engagement to himself, and that for two reasons: The first was, that having repulsed Attalus to the shore, he had taken that prince's ship; and the second, that having cast anchor near the promontory of Argennum, he had stopt even among the wrecks of his enemies. But though he assumed the best air he could, he was sensible of his great loss, and could neither conceal it from others, nor himself. This prince had never lost so great a number of men either by sea or land in one day. He was highly afflicted upon it, and it visibly damped his natural vivacity.

(f) Nevertheless, the ill success of this battle did not abate Philip's courage. The character of that prince was to be unshaken in his resolutions; and not to be dejected by disappointments, but to overcome difficulties by inflexible constancy and perseverance; and accordingly he continued the war with fresh bravery. I am not certain whether we may not date, about this time, the cruelties which Philip exercised over the Cians; a barbarity he is often reproached with, the particulars of which have unhappily been lost. Cios, whose inhabitants are called Cians, was a small

A. M.
3803.
Ant. J. C.
201.

(f) Polyb. l. xvi. p. 733—739. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 16, 18. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 745. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 31. Strab. l. xii. p. 563. Polyb. l. xv. p. 709—711.

city of Bithynia. The man who was governor of it, had been raised to that post by the Ætolians, who at that time were in alliance with Philip. We find that he besieged it at the request of his son-in-law Prusias, king of Bithynia, who pretended to have received some insult from it. The city was in all probability taken by storm. A great number of the inhabitants suffered the most cruel torments; the rest were reduced to a state of captivity, which to them was worse than death; and the city was razed to the very foundations. This barbarity alienated the Ætolians from him, and particularly the Rhodians, who were allies and friends to the inhabitants of Cios. Polybius seems to ascribe its destruction to the imprudence of the Ciansians themselves, who used to bestow all posts and preferments on their most worthless citizens; and to follow so blindly their pernicious opinions in every thing, as even to persecute those who ventured to oppose them. He adds, that a people, who act in this manner, plunge voluntarily into the greatest calamities; and that it is surprizing they do not correct themselves in this respect by the experience of all ages; which show, that the ruin of the most powerful states is solely owing to the ill choice of those to whom they confide either the command of their armies, or the administration of their political affairs.

Philip marched afterwards to Thrace and Chersonesus, where several cities surrendered voluntarily. However, Abydos shut her gates against him, and even refused to hear the deputies he had sent, so that he was forced to besiege it. This city is in Asia, and stands on the narrowest part of the Hellespont, now called the Dardanelles, and opposite to the city of Sestus in Europe. The distance between these two cities was about two miles. The reader will suppose, that Abydos must be a city of great importance, as it commanded the streights, and made those, who were possessed of it, masters of the communication between the Euxine Sea, and the Archipelago.

Nothing of what is generally practised, in the assaulting and defending of cities, was omitted in this siege. No place was ever defended with greater obstinacy, which might be said at length, on the side of the besieged, to have rose to fury and brutality. Confiding in their own strength, they repulsed with the greatest vigour the first approaches of the Macedonians. On the side next the sea, the machines of war no sooner came forward, but they immediately were either dismounted by the balistæ, or consumed by fire. Even the ships, on which they were mounted, were in danger; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the besiegers saved them. On the land side, the Abydonians also defended themselves for some time with great courage, and did not despair even of defeating the enemy. But, finding that the outward wall was sapped, and that the Macedonians carried their mines under the inward one, which had been raised to supply the place of the other, they sent deputies to Philip, offering to surrender their city upon the following conditions: That such forces, as had been sent them by the Rhodians and king Attalus, should return to their respective sovereigns under his safe-conduct; and that all free citizens should retire whithersoever they pleased with the clothes they then had on. Philip answering, that the Abydonians had only to choose, whether they would surrender at discretion, or continue to defend themselves valiantly, the deputies retired.

This advice being brought, the besieged, in transports of despair, assemble together, and consider what was to be done. They came to this resolution; first, that the slaves should be set at liberty, to animate them to defend the city with the utmost vigour: Secondly, that all the women should be shut up in the temple of Diana, and all the children, with their nurses, in the Gymnasium: That this being done, they then should bring into the great square all the gold and silver in the city, and carry all the rest of the valuable effects into the * Quadrireme of the Rhodians, and the Tri-

* Quadriremes were galleys with four benches of oars, and Triremes those with three.

reme of the Cizycenians. This resolution having passed unanimously, another assembly was called, in which they chose fifty of the wisest and most ancient of the citizens, but at the same time had vigour enough left to execute what should have been determined; and they were made to take an oath in presence of all the inhabitants, that the instant they saw the enemy master of the inward wall, they should kill the women and children, set fire to the two gallies laden with their effects, and throw into the sea all their gold and silver which they had heaped together: Then sending for their priests, they took an oath either to conquer or die, sword in hand; and after having sacrificed the victims, they obliged the priests and priestesses to pronounce, before the altar, the greatest curses on those who should break their oath.

This being done, they left off countermining, and resolved, the instant the wall should fall, to fly to the breach, and fight to the last. Accordingly, the inward wall tumbling, the besieged, true to the oath they had taken, fought in the breach with such unparalleled bravery, that tho' Philip had perpetually sustained with fresh soldiers those who had mounted to the assault; yet, when night separated the combatants, he was still doubtful with regard to the success of the siege. Such Abydonians as marched first to the breach, over the heaps of the slain, fought with fury; and not only made use of their swords and javelins, but, after their arms were broke to pieces, or forced out of their hands, they rushed furiously upon the Macedonians, knocked down some, broke the sarissæ or long spears of others, and with the pieces struck their faces and such parts of their bodies as were uncovered, till they made them entirely despair of the event.

When night had put an end to the slaughter, the breach was quite covered with the dead bodies of the Abydonians; and those who had escaped, were so prodigiously fatigued, and had received so many wounds, that they could scarce support themselves. Things being brought to this dreadful extremity, two of the principal

cipal citizens, unable to execute the dreadful resolution that had been taken, and which at that time displayed itself to their imaginations in all its horror, agreed, that, to save their wives and children, they should send to Philip, by day-break, all their priests and priestesses, clothed in pontifical habits, to implore his mercy, and open their gates to him.

Accordingly, next morning, the city, as had been agreed, was surrendered to Philip; during which the greatest part of the Abydonians who survived, vented millions of imprecations against their fellow-citizens, and especially against the priests and priestesses, for delivering up to the enemy those whom they themselves had devoted to death with the most dreadful oaths. Philip marched into the city, and seized, without the least opposition, all the rich effects which the Abydonians had heaped together in one place. But now he was greatly terrified with the spectacle he saw. Among these ill-fated citizens, whom despair had made furious and distracted, some were strangling their wives and children, and others cutting them to pieces with their swords; some were running to murder them, others were plunging them into wells, whilst others again were precipitating them from the tops of houses; in a word, death appeared in all its variety of horrors. Philip, pierced with grief, and seized with horror at this spectacle, stopt the foldiers who were greedy of plunder, and published a declaration, importing, that he would allow three days to all who were resolved to lay violent hands on themselves. He was in hopes, that during this interval they would change their resolution; but they had made their choice before. They thought it would be degenerating from those who had lost their lives in fighting for their country, should they survive them. The individuals of every family killed one another, and none escaped this murderous expedition, but those whose hands were tied, or were otherwise kept from destroying themselves.

A little before the city surrendered, an ambassador from the Romans to Philip arrived: This embassy

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was sent on various accounts, all which it will be proper to explain. The fame and glory of this people had juſt before ſpread through all parts of the world, by the victory which Scipio gained over Hannibal in Africa; an event that ſo gloriously (with regard to the Romans) terminated the ſecond Punick war. (g) The court of Egypt, being in ſo much danger from the union that had been formed between Philip and Antiochus againſt their infant king, had addreſſed the Romans for protection, and offered them the guardianship of the king, and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; declaring, that the late monarch had deſired it at his death. It was the intereſt of the Romans not to ſuffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increaſe, by the addition of ſo many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time conſiſted. It was not difficult to foreſee, that they would ſoon be engaged in war with thoſe two princes, with one of whom they already had ſome differences which threatened much greater. For theſe reaſons they had not heſitated in accepting the guardianship; and in conſequence had appointed three deputies, who were ordered to acquaint the two kings with their reſolution, and to enjoin them not to infeſt the dominions of their royal pupil, for that otherwiſe they ſhould be forced to declare war againſt them. Every reader will perceive, that the declaring ſo generouſly in favour of an oppreſſed infant monarch, was making a juſt and noble uſe of their power.

At the ſame time there arrived in Rome ambaffadors from the Rhodians and from king Attalus, to complain alſo of the enterprizes of the two kings; and to inform the Romans, that Philip, either in perſon or by his deputies, was ſolliciting ſeveral cities of Aſia to take up arms, and was certainly meditating ſome great deſign. This was a freſh motive for haſtening the departure of the three ambaffadors.

Being arrived at Rhodes, and hearing of the ſiege of Abydos, they ſent to Philip the youngeſt of their

(g) Juſtin. l. xxx. c. 2, & 3. & l. xxxi. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 6. Liv. l. xxxi. n. 1, 2, & 18.

colleagues, named Æmilius, who, as has been observed, arrived at Abydos the time that the city was upon the point of being surrendered. Æmilius acquainted Philip, that he was ordered, in the name of the senate, to exhort him not to make war upon any of the states of Greece; not to invade any part of Ptolemy's dominions; but to refer to a just arbitration his pretensions upon Attalus and the Rhodians. That, provided he acquiesced with these remonstrances, he would continue in peace; but that if he refused, the Romans would proclaim war against him. Philip endeavoured to show, that the Rhodians had occasioned the rupture. *But*, says Æmilius, interrupting him, *did the Athenians and Abydonians attack you first?* Philip *, who had not been used to hear truth, offended at the boldness of such an answer addressed to a king; *Your age*, says he to the ambassador, *your beauty*, (for Polybius informs us that this ambassador had really a fine person) *and especially the Roman name, exalt your pride to a prodigious degree. For my part, I wish your republick may observe punctually the treaties it has concluded with me: But, in case I should be invaded by it, I hope to show, that the empire of Macedonia does not yield to Rome either in valour or reputation.* The deputy withdrew from Abydos with this answer, and Philip having taken that city, left a strong garrison in it, and returned to Macedonia.

Æmilius seems to have gone into Egypt, whilst the two other ambassadors went very probably to Antiochus. Æmilius being arrived at Alexandria, assumed the guardianship of Ptolemy, in the name of the Romans, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the senate at his setting out; and settled every thing to as much advantage as the state of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Aristo-

* Inſueto vera audire, ferocior ſæderum memores ſervare mecum oratio viſa eſt, quàm quæ habenda apud regem eſſet. *Ætas*, inquit, & *forma*, & *ſuper omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit.* Ego autem primum velim vos *ſæderum memores ſervare mecum pacem. Si bello laceſſeritis, mihi quoque in animo eſt facere, ut regnum Macedonum nomenque haud minus quàm Romanum nobile bello ſentiat.* Liv. l. xxxi. n. 18.

menes the Acarnanian to superintend the education and person of the young monarch, and made him prime minister. This Aristomenes had grown old in the court of Egypt, and acted with the utmost prudence and fidelity in the employment conferred upon him.

(*b*) In the mean time the forces of Philip laid Attica waste, the pretence of which invasion was as follows. Two young men of Acarnania being in Athens, at the time when the grand mysteries were solemnizing there, had crowded into the temple of Ceres, not knowing that it was forbid. Though their fault proceeded intirely from ignorance, they were immediately massacred, as guilty of impiety and sacrilege. The Acarnanians, justly exasperated at so cruel a treatment, had recourse to Philip, who gladly embraced this opportunity, and gave them a body of forces, with which they entered Attica, ravaged the whole country, and returned home laden with spoils.

(*i*) The Athenians carried their complaints against this enterprize to Rome, and were joined on that occasion by the Rhodians and king Attalus. The Romans only sought for an opportunity to break with king Philip, at whom they were very much offended. He had infringed the condition of the treaty of peace concluded with him three years before, in not ceasing to infest the allies who were included in it. He had just before sent troops and money to Hannibal in Africa; and a report was spread, that he was at that time very busy in Asia. This made the Romans uneasy, who called to mind the trouble which Pyrrhus had brought upon him, with only a handful of Epirots, a people very much inferior to the Macedonians. Thus, having ended the war against Carthage, they imagined it adviseable to prevent the enterprizes of this new enemy, who might become formidable, in case they should give him time to increase his strength. The senate, after making such an answer as pleased all the ambassadors, ordered M. Valerius Levinus, the

(*b*) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 14.

(*i*) Ibid. n. 1-3.

proprætor,

proprætor, to advance towards Macedonia with a fleet, in order to examine matters nearer at hand, and be in a condition to give immediate aid to the allies.

(k) In the mean time the Roman senate deliberated seriously on what was to be done in the present juncture. At the very time it assembled to consider that important affair, a second embassy arrived from the Athenians, which brought advice that Philip was upon the point of invading Attica in person; and that in case they were not immediately succoured, he would infallibly make himself master of Athens. They also received letters from Levinus the proprætor, and from Aurelius his lieutenant, by which they were informed that they had the strongest reasons to believe that Philip had some design against them; and that the danger being imminent, they had no time to lose.

(l) Upon this news, the Romans resolved to proclaim war against Philip. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius the consul, to whom Macedonia had fallen by lot, put to sea with an army, and soon arrived there. Here he was soon informed that Athens was besieged, and implored his assistance. He detached a squadron of twenty gallies, commanded by Claudius Cento, who set sail that instant. Philip had not laid siege to Athens in person, but deputed one of his lieutenants for that purpose; having taken the field in person against Attalus and the Rhodians.

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SECT. II. *Expeditions of the consul Sulpitius in Macedonia. The Ætolians wait for the event, in order to declare themselves. Philip loses a battle. Villius succeeds Sulpitius. No considerable transaction happens during his government. Flaminius succeeds him. Antiochus recovers Cælosyria, of which he had been dispossessed by Aristomenes the prime minister of Egypt. Various expeditions of the consul into Phocis. The Achæans, after long debates, declare for the Romans.*

(m) **C**LAUDIUS Cento, whom the consul had sent to succour Athens, having entered the Piræus with his gallies, revived the drooping courage

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(k) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 5. (l) Ibid n. 14. (m) Ibid. n. 22—26.

of

of the inhabitants. He was not satisfied with securing the city and the country round it; but having advice that the garrison of Chalcis did not observe the least order or discipline, as remote from danger, he sailed out with his fleet, arrived near the city before day, and finding the centinels asleep, entered it without molestation; set fire to the publick magazines which were full of corn, and to the arsenal that was well provided with machines of war; cut the whole garrison to pieces; and after carrying on board his ships the immense booty he had amassed, he returned to the Piræus.

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, the instant he heard of the disaster which had befallen that confederate city, flew thither, in hopes of surprizing the Romans. However, they were gone; so that he seemed to have come for no other purpose, but to be spectator of that city, still burning and half ruined. He would certainly have treated Athens in the same manner, if one of the couriers, called Hemerodromi *, who perceived the king's troops from the eminence where he was posted, had not carried the news of it immediately to Athens, where the inhabitants were all asleep. Philip arrived a few hours after, but before day-break. Perceiving that this stratagem had not taken effect, he resolved to attack the city. The Athenians had drawn up their soldiers in battle without the walls, at the gate Dipylos; Philip, marching at the head of his army, attacked them with vigour, and having killed several of them with his own hand, repulsed them back into the city, whither he did not think it adviseable to pursue them. But he wreaked his vengeance on the country seats, on the place for the publick exercises, as the Lyceum, and especially on such temples as stood without the city; setting fire to every thing, and ruining whatever came in his way, not sparing either the tombs or the most sacred places. He marched from hence with a view of surprizing Eleusis, where his project also proved abortive. He then proceeded

* They were so called from running a great number of miles in one day.
towards

towards Corinth, when hearing that the Achæans held their assembly at Argos, he went thither.

They were deliberating how to act in regard to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who had succeeded Machanidas, and infested the whole country with his incursions. Philip offered to charge himself entirely with that war, and his proposal was received with universal joy. However, he added a condition which abated it very much; that they should furnish him with as many troops as were necessary for garrisoning Cræa, Chalcis, and Corinth; and that they should not leave the places behind him without defence whilst he was fighting for them. They perceived that his design was to draw out of Peloponnesus all the Achæan youth, in order to make himself master of it, and engage it in the war against the Romans. Cycliadus, who presided in the assembly, eluded the proposal, by observing that it was not allowed, by their laws, to debate on any subject but that for which the assembly had been summoned. They therefore broke up, after having resolved upon the war against Nabis; and the hopes of Philip were again defeated.

He made a second attempt upon Athens, which succeeded no better than the former, except that he completed the demolition of such temples, statues, and valuable works, as remained in that country. After this expedition he retired into Bœotia.

(*n*) The consul, who was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, sent to Macedonia a considerable detachment, under the command of Apustius the lieutenant, who laid waste the plains and took several small cities. Philip, who was returned into Macedonia, carried on his military preparations with prodigious vigour.

The great object which both parties had in view, was to engage the Ætolians to their side. They were now going to hold their general assembly, to which Philip, the Romans, and Athenians, sent their ambassadors; he who was deputed by Philip spoke first.

All he required was, that the *Ætolians* should observe strictly the treaties of peace which they had concluded three years before with Philip; having then experienced how useless their alliance with the Romans was to them. He instanced several cities, of which that people had possessed themselves, upon pretence of succouring them, as *Syracuse*, *Tarentum*, *Capua*; the last city especially, which was no longer *Capua*, but the grave of the *Campanians*, and the skeleton, as it were, of a city, having neither senate, inhabitants, or magistrates; more barbarously used by those who had left it to be inhabited in this condition, than if they had entirely destroyed it. “If foreigners,” says he, who differ from us more by their language, their manners, and their laws, than by the wide distance of land and sea which separate us from them, should dispossess us of this country, it would be ridiculous in us to expect more humane treatment from them than their neighbours have met with. Among us, who are of the same country, whether *Ætolians*, *Acarnanians*, or *Macedonians*, and who speak the same language, slight disputes may arise with little or no consequence or duration; but with foreigners, with *Barbarians*, we, whilst we are *Greeks*, are, and shall for ever be at war. This time three years you concluded a peace with Philip in this very place; now the same causes still subsist; and we hope that you will act in the same manner.”

The *Athenian* ambassadors, by the consent of the *Romans*, spoke next. They began by displaying, in an affecting manner, the impious and sacrilegious fury which Philip had exercised on the most sacred monuments of *Attica*, on the most august temples, and the most awful tombs; as if he had declared war, not only against men, and the living, but against the manes of the dead, and the majesty of the gods. That *Ætolia* and all *Greece* must expect the same treatment, if Philip should have the like occasion. They concluded with conjuring the *Ætolians* to take compassion of *Athens*, and to undertake, under the auspices

auspices of the gods, and of the Romans, whose power only that of the gods could equal, so just a war as that proposed to them.

The Roman ambassador, after having refuted very circumstantially the reproaches of the Macedonian, with respect to the treatment which Rome had made the conquered cities suffer; and exemplified in Carthage, which, but just before, had been allowed a peace, and was restored to its liberty; declared, that the only circumstance the Romans had to fear was, that the too great mildness and lenity which they exercised towards those they conquered, would prompt other nations to take up arms against them, because the vanquished might depend on the Roman clemency. He represented in a short, but strong and pathetick speech, the criminal actions of Philip, the murders committed by him on his own family, and his friends, his infamous debaucheries, which were still more detested than his cruelty; all facts more immediately known to the persons whom he then addressed, as they were nearer neighbours to Macedonia. “But, to confine my speech to what relates directly to you,” says the ambassador, addressing himself to the Ætolians, “we engaged in the war against Philip, in no other view but to defend you; and you have concluded a separate peace with him. Possibly you may observe in your own justification, that seeing us employed in the war against the Carthaginians, and being awed by fear, you were obliged to submit to whatever conditions the victor was pleased to prescribe; whilst we, on the other side, employed in affairs of greater importance, neglected a war which you had renounced. However, having now put an end (thanks to the gods) to the Carthaginian war, we are going to turn the whole force of our arms against Macedonia. This gives you an opportunity of returning to our friendship and alliance, unless you should chuse to perish ingloriously with Philip, rather than conquer with the Romans.”

Damocritus, the Ætolian prætor, plainly perceived that this speech would gain all the voices. It is said, that he had been bribed by Philip. Without seeming inclined to either side, he represented the affair as too important to be determined immediately, and required time for a more mature deliberation. By this artifice he eluded the effect which the assembly would otherwise have had; and boasted his having done a very essential service to the republick, which now (he said) might wait the event before it took up arms, and then declare for the strongest party.

(c) In the mean time, Philip was preparing for a vigorous war both by sea and land; but the consul had already begun it. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced towards the Dassaretæ, and Philip had also taken the field. Neither party knew which way the enemy had marched; but each sent out a detachment upon the discovery, and the two parties met. As both consisted entirely of chosen troops, a bloody skirmish ensued, and the victory was doubtful. Forty Macedonian troopers, and thirty-five of the Romans, were killed on the spot.

The king, persuaded that the care he should take to bury those who had lost their lives in this skirmish, would contribute very much to gain him the affection of his soldiers, and excite them to behave gallantly in his service, caused their dead bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be eye-witnesses of the honours paid to their memory.

* Nothing is less to be relied upon than the sentiments and dispositions of the vulgar. This spectacle, which Philip imagined would animate the soldiers, had a quite contrary effect, and damped their courage. Hitherto he had engaged in war with none but Greeks and Illyrians, who employed scarce any other weapons but arrows, javelins and lances; and for that reason the wounds they made were not so deep. But when they

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(c) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 33---39.

* Nihil tam incertum nec tam inæstimabile est, quam animi multitudine. Quod promptiores ad subeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur facturum, id metum pigritiamque incussit. Liv.

they saw the bodies of their comrades, covered with deep and wide gashes made by the Spanish sabres, whole arms cut off, shoulders lopped away, and heads separated from the bodies, they were terrified at the sight, and plainly perceived against what kind of enemy they were to act.

The king himself, who had never seen the Romans engage in battle, was terrified at this sight. Being informed by some deserters of the place where the enemy had halted, he took guides and marched thither with his army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse; and posted himself at a little above two hundred paces from their camp, near the city of Athacus, on an eminence which he fortified with good ditches and strong intrenchments. Surveying from the top of the hill the order and disposition of the Roman camp, he cried out, * That what he saw was not the camp of Barbarians.

The consul and the king were quiet for the first two days, each waiting till the other should make some movement. On the third day, Sulpitius came out of his camp, and drew up his troops in battle. Philip, being afraid of coming to a general battle, detached against the enemy a body consisting of but fifteen hundred men, the one half horse, and the other foot; against whom the Romans opposed an equal number, who had the advantage, and put the other to flight. They avoided with no less prudence an ambuscade which the king had laid for them. These two advantages, the one gained by open force, and the other by stratagem, inflamed the courage of the Roman soldiers. The consul marched them back into the camp, and after allowing them a day's repose, he led them out, and offered the king battle, which he did not think proper to accept, and for that reason he lay close in his camp, in spite of all the insults and reproaches of Sulpitius, who charged him with meanness of spirit and cowardice.

As foraging, where two armies lay so near one another,

other, would be very dangerous, the consul drew off to about eight miles distance, and advanced towards a village, called Octolophos, where the foragers dispersed themselves all over the neighbouring country in separate platoons. The king at first lay close in his intrenchments, as if afraid of venturing out; in order that the enemy, growing bolder on that account, might for that reason be less vigilant. This happened directly as Philip had foreseen. When he saw great numbers of them spread over the plains, he quitted his camp on a sudden with all his horse, whom the Cretans followed as fast as it was possible for infantry to march, and rode full speed to post himself between the Roman camp and the foragers. There, dividing his forces, he detached part of them against the foragers; ordering them to cut to pieces all who should come in their way; whilst he himself seized all the passes by which they could return. And now nothing was seen on all sides but blood and slaughter; during which, the Romans did not know what was doing out of their camp, because such as fled were intercepted by the king's forces; and those who guarded the passes, killed a much greater number than the others detached in pursuit of the enemy.

At last the melancholy news of the slaughter arrived in the Roman camp. Upon which the consul ordered the cavalry to march out, and succour their comrades wherever they could: As for himself, he made the legions quit the camp, and marched them in an hollow square against the enemy. The troopers, being dispersed up and down, lost their way at first; being deceived by the shouts and cries which echoed from different places. Many of these parties fell in with the enemy, and skirmishes were fought in different places at the same time. The warmest engagement was where the king himself commanded, and which, by the great number of the horse and foot that composed it, formed almost an army: Not to mention that these troops, being prodigiously animated by the presence of the king and the Cretans, who fought close

close together, and with the utmost vigour, against enemies dispersed and in disorder, killed great numbers of them. It is certain that, had they not pursued the Romans so vigorously, this day might have decided, not only the present battle, but perhaps the success of the whole war. But, by abandoning themselves to a rash and inconsiderate ardour, they fell into the midst of the Roman cohorts, who had advanced with their officers. And now the soldiers that fled, perceiving the Roman ensigns faced about, and pushed their horses against the enemy, who were all in disorder. In an instant the face of the battle was quite changed; those who pursued before now flying in their turn. Many were killed in close fight, and many lost their lives in flying; numbers fell, not only by the sword, but several plunging into morasses, were swallowed up, with their horses, in the mire. The king himself was in very great danger; for having been thrown by his horse, which had received a great wound, multitudes were going to attack him, had not a trooper leaped that moment from his horse, and mounted him on it: But the man himself, being unable to keep pace with the troopers who fled, was killed by the enemy. Philip, after having taken a long compass round the fens, came at last to the camp, where he had been given over for lost.

We have seen on many occasions, and it cannot be too strongly inculcated to those of the military profession, in order to their avoiding the like error, that battles are often lost by the too great ardour of the officers, who, solely intent upon pursuing the enemy, forget and neglect what passes in the rest of the army; and suffer themselves to be deprived, through an imprudent desire of glory, of a victory which they had in their hands, and might have secured.

However, Philip had not lost a great number of men in this action, but dreaded coming to a second; and was afraid lest the conqueror should advance to attack him suddenly. He therefore dispatched a herald to the consul, to desire a suspension of arms, in

order to bury the dead. The consul, who was at dinner, sent word that he should have an answer on the morrow. Upon this, Philip, to conceal his march from the Romans, having left a great number of fires in his camp, set out from it, without noise, the instant it was dark; and having got a whole night's march before the consul, and part of the following day, he thereby put it out of his power to pursue him.

(d) Sulpitius began his march the next day, not knowing which way the king had taken. Philip had flattered himself with the hopes of intercepting him at some passes, the entrance of which he fortified with ditches, intrenchments, and great works of stones and trees; but the patience of the Romans was superior to all these difficulties. The consul, after laying waste the country, and seizing upon several fortresses, marched his army back to Apollonia, from whence he had set out in the beginning of the campaign.

The Ætolians, who only waited the event, in order to take up arms, declared without the least hesitation for the Romans, and the Athemans followed their example. Both people made some incursions into Macedonia, but with ill success, Philip having defeated them on several occasions. He also defeated the Dardanians, who had entered his country during his absence; and with these small advantages, consoled himself for his ill success against the Romans.

(e) In this campaign the Roman fleet joined that of Attalus, and came into the Piræus, to the great joy of the Athenians. The hatred they bore to Philip, which fear had forced them to dissemble for a long time, now broke out immoderately, at the sight of so powerful a succour. In a free city * like that of Athens, where eloquence was all-powerful, the orators had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that they made them form whatever resolutions

(d) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 39---43.

(e) Ibid. n. 44---47.

* Nec unquam ibi defunt linguæ promptæ ad plebam concitandam: quod genus, cum in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum

præcipuè Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. Liv.

resolutions they pleased. Here the people, at their request, ordained that all the statues and images of Philip and his ancestors should be destroyed: That the festivals, sacrifices and priests, established in their honour, should be abolished: That every place where any monument had been set up, or inscription engraved relating to them, should be declared impure and profane: That the priests, every time they offered up prayers to the gods, in favour of the Athenians, of their allies, their armies and fleets, should also utter anathemas and curses of every kind against Philip, his children, his kingdom, his forces both by sea and land; in a word, against the Macedonians in general, and all that belonged to them. To this decree was added, That whatever might be afterwards proposed, which tended in any manner to dishonour and bring an odium on Philip, would be grateful to the people; and that whosoever should dare to say or do any thing in favour of Philip, or against the decrees in question, might be killed upon the spot without any formality. The last clause was, That whatever had been enacted against the Pisistratides, should take place against Philip. In this manner the * Athenians made war against Philip by their decrees and ordinances, which at that time were their only strength. Carrying all things to extremes, they now lavished encomiums, honours, and homage of every kind, on Attalus and the Romans.

The fleet, at its leaving Piræus, attacked and took several fortresses and small islands; after which Attalus and the Romans separated, and went into winter-quarters.

(f) In Rome, the year following, new consuls being chosen, Vilius had Macedonia for his province.

Philip, whilst he made the several preparations for carrying on the ensuing campaign, was exceedingly anxious with regard to the success of the war he had

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(f) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 49. & l. xxxii. n. 3.

* Athenienses quidem literis bellum adversus Philippum gere-
verbisque, quibus solis valent, bant. Liv.

undertaken. Besides his having to deal with powerful and formidable enemies, he was afraid that the protection which the Romans gave to states, would draw off many of his allies from him; and that the Macedonians, uneasy at, and dissatisfied with his government, would rebel against him.

To obviate these dangers, he gave up some cities to the Achæans, thinking to attach them the more strongly to his interest by this unexpected generosity; and at the same time he sent ambassadors into Achaia, to make the allies take the oath which was to be renewed every year. But could he look upon this ceremony as a strong tie; such a one as would be capable of keeping the confederates in their duty; as he himself professed an open violation of all oaths, and did not make the least scruple to forfeit his promise, nor shew the least veneration for the supreme Being, religion, and all that mankind consider as most sacred?

(g) As to the Macedonians, he endeavoured to recover their love and affection, by sacrificing Heraclides, one of his ministers and confidants, whom the people hated and detested on account of his rapine and grievous oppressions; all which had made the government odious to them. He was of very mean extraction, and born in Tarentum, where he had exercised the meanest and most contemptible offices, and been banished from thence, for attempting to deliver up the city to the Romans. He had fled to Philip, who finding him a man of sense, of a lively genius, a daring spirit, and at the same time so insatiably ambitious, as not to scruple the commission of the blackest crimes, had attached him to himself in a particular manner, and trusted him with all his secrets; a fit instrument for a prince, who had neither probity or honour. Heraclides, says Polybius, was born with all those qualities which constitute the finished villain. From his most tender years he had prostituted himself in the most infamous manner. Haughty and terrible to all his inferiors, he behaved in the meanest and most groveling

groveling manner towards his superiors. He was in such great credit and authority with Philip, that, according to the same author, he almost ruined that powerful kingdom, by the universal discontent which his injustice and oppression occasioned. At last the king caused him to be seized and thrown into prison, which occasioned an universal joy amongst the people. As we have only a few fragments of Polybius on this subject, history does not inform us what became of Heraclides, nor whether he came to the end his crimes deserved.

Nothing considerable was transacted during this campaign, any more than the foregoing, because the consuls did not enter Macedonia, till very late; and the rest of the time was spent in slight skirmishes, either to force certain passes, or carry off convoys. (b) T. Quintius * Flamininus having been nominated consul, and Macedonia falling to him by lot, he did not follow the example of his predecessors, but set out from Rome at the opening of the spring, with Lucius his brother, who, by the leave of the senate, was to command his fleet.

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At the beginning of the year in question, Antiochus invaded Attalus very vigorously both by sea and land. The ambassadors of the latter king came to Rome, and informed the senate of the great danger to which their sovereign was exposed. He intreated the Romans, in Attalus's name, either to undertake his defence with the forces of the republick, or to permit king Attalus to recall his troops. The senate made answer, That as nothing could be more just and reasonable than Attalus's demand, he therefore was at full liberty to recall his forces: That the Romans never intended to incommode their allies in any manner; but that they would employ all their credit with Antiochus, to dissuade him from molesting Attalus. Accordingly, the Romans sent ambassadors to the former,

(b) Liv. l. xxxii. n. 9---15.

* Plutarch calls him Flaminius, but it is an error, these being two different families.

former, who remonstrated to him, that Attalus had lent them his land as well as naval forces, which they had employed against Philip their common enemy; that they should think it an obligation, if he would not invade that prince; that it was fitting that such kings as were confederates and friends to the Romans should be at peace. These remonstrances being made to Antiochus, he immediately drew off his forces from the territories of king Attalus.

The instant he had, at the request of the Romans, laid aside his designs against that prince, he marched in person into Cœlosyria, to recover those cities of which Aristomenes had dispossessed him. The Romans had entrusted this general with the administration of Egypt. The first thing he had endeavoured was, to defend himself against the invasion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpose he raised the best troops he could. (i) He sent Scopas into Ætolia with large sums of money, to levy as many troops as possible; the Ætolians being at that time looked upon as the best soldiers. (k) This Scopas had formerly enjoyed the highest posts in his own country, and was thought to be one of the bravest and most experienced generals of his time. When the time for continuing in his employment expired, he had flattered himself with the hopes of being continued in it, but was disappointed. This gave him disgust, so that he left Ætolia, and engaged in the service of the king of Egypt. Scopas had such good success in his levies, that he brought six thousand soldiers from Ætolia; a good reinforcement for the Egyptian army.

(l) The ministers of Alexandria, seeing Antiochus employed in Asia minor, in the war which had broke out between him and Attalus king of Pergamus, sent Scopas into Palestine and Cœlosyria, to recover, if possible, those provinces. He carried on that war so successfully, that he recovered several cities, retook Judæa, threw a garrison into the citadel of Jerusalem,

(i) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 43. (k) Excerpt. Polyb. p. 60. (l) Hierom. in c. xi. Dan. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

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lem, and, upon the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria, whither he brought (besides the glory of his victories) exceeding rich spoils taken in the conquered countries. We find by the sequel, that the great success of this campaign was owing principally to Antiochus's being absent, and to the little resistance which had therefore been made.

(*m*) He no sooner arrived there in person, but the face of things changed immediately, and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who was returned with an army, was defeated at Paneas, near the source of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great slaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to fly to Sidon, where he shut himself up with the ten thousand men he had left. Antiochus besieged him in it, and reduced him to such extremities, that being in absolute want of provisions, he was forced to surrender the city, and content himself with having his life spared. However, the government of Alexandria had employed its utmost efforts to relieve him in Sidon, and three of the best generals, at the head of the choicest troops of the state, had been sent to raise the siege. But Antiochus disposed things so happily, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to accept of the ignominious conditions above mentioned; after which he returned to Alexandria, naked and disarmed.

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(*n*) Antiochus went from thence to Gaza, where he met with so strong a resistance as exasperated him; and accordingly, having taken it, he abandoned the plunder of it to his soldiers. This being done, he secured the passes through which the troops were to come that might be sent from Egypt; and returning back, subjected all Palestine and Cœlosyria.

(*o*) The instant that the Jews, who at that time had reason to be displeased with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus advanced towards their country, they crowded

(*m*) Liv. l. xxxii. n. 8. Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 77, &c. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. (*n*) Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 87. & Exc. Leg. 72. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 19. (*o*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

crowded very zealously to meet him, and deliver up the keys of all their cities; being come to Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in pomp to meet him, paid him all kinds of honour, and assisted him in driving out of the castle the soldiers which Scopas had left in it. In return for these services, Antiochus granted them a great many privileges; and enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner-part of the temple; a prohibition which seemed visibly to have been made, on account of Philopator's attempt, who would have forced his way thither.

(p) Antiochus, in his eastern expedition, had received so many services from the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, and depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent two thousand Jewish families to quell it, and keep the country in peace, and was exceedingly liberal to them. It was from these Jews, transplanted at this time, that descended many of those * who were *dispersed* or *scattered abroad*, whom we shall afterwards find so numerous, especially in the gospel-times.

Antiochus having thus subjected all Cœlosyria, and Palestine, resolved, if possible, to make the like conquests in Asia minor. The great object he had in view was, to raise the empire of Syria to its pristine glory, by re-uniting to it all that his predecessors had ever possessed, and particularly Seleucus Nicator, its founder. (q) As it would be necessary, for succeeding in his design, to prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, at a time that he should be at a distance from his kingdom, he sent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to king Ptolemy; but on this condition, that they should not celebrate their nuptials

(p) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

(q) Hierom. in c. xi. Daniel.

* They are thus called by St. James and St. Peter. To the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad. Jam. i. 1. To the stran-

gers scattered about Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. 1 Pet. i. 1.

nuptials till they should be a little older; and that then, on the very day of their marriage, he would give up those provinces to Egypt, as his daughter's dowry. This proposal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the Egyptians, relying on his promises, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation.

I now resume the affairs of Macedonia. I observed that Quintus Flaminius (by either of which names I shall call him hereafter) had set out from Rome as soon as he had been appointed consul, and had carried with him Lucius his brother to command the fleet. Being arrived in Epirus, he found Villius encamped in presence of Philip's army, who, for a long time, had kept the passes and defiles along the banks of the Apfus, a river of the country of the Taulantians, between Epirus and Illyria. Having taken upon himself the command of the forces, the first thing he did was to consider and examine the situation of the country. As this pass seemed impracticable to an army, because there was but one narrow, steep path in it, cut in the rock, and that the enemy were possessed of the avenues; he therefore was advised to take a large compass, as this would bring him to a wide smooth road. But, besides that, he must have employed too much time in this winding march, he was afraid to remove too far from the sea, from whence he had all his provisions. For this reason, he resolved to go over the mountains, and to force the passes, whatever might be the consequence.

Philip having in vain made proposals of peace, in an interview between him and the consul, was obliged to have recourse again to arms. Accordingly, several slight skirmishes were fought in a pretty large plain; the Macedonians coming down in platoons from their mountains to attack the enemy, and afterwards retreating by steep craggy ways. The Romans, hurried on by the fury of the battle, pursuing them to those places, were greatly annoyed; the Macedonians having planted on all these rocks catapultæ and ballistæ,

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overwhelmed them with stones and arrows. Great numbers were wounded on both sides, and night separated the combatants.

Matters being in this state, some shepherds, who fed their sheep on these mountains, came and told Flamininus, that they knew a by-way which was not guarded; and promised to guide him to the top of the mountains, in three days at farthest. They brought with them as their guarantee Charops, son of Machatas, the person of the greatest distinction among the Epirots, who secretly favoured the Romans. Flamininus, having such a voucher, sends a general with four thousand foot and three hundred horse. These shepherds, whom the Romans had chained together for fear of a surprize, led the detachment. During these three days, the consul contented himself with only a few light skirmishes to amuse the enemy. But on the fourth, at day-break, he caused his whole army to stand to their arms; perceiving on the mountains a great smoke, which was the signal agreed upon between them, he marches directly against the enemy, perpetually exposed to the darts of the Macedonians, and still fighting hand to hand against those who guarded the passes. The Romans redouble their efforts, and repulse the enemy with great vigour into the most craggy ways; making great shouts, in order that they might be heard by their comrades on the mountain. The latter answered from the summit of it, with a most dreadful noise; and at the same time fall upon the Macedonians, who seeing themselves attacked both in front and rear, are struck with a panic, and fly with the utmost speed. However, not above two thousand of them were killed, the paths being so craggy and steep, that it was impossible to pursue them far. The victors plundered their camp, and seized their tents and slaves.

Philip had marched at first towards Thessaly; but being afraid that the enemy would follow and attack him again there, he turned off towards Macedonia, and

and halted at Tempe, that he might be the better able to succour such cities as should be besieged.

The consul marched by Epirus, but did not lay waste the country, although he knew that all persons of the greatest distinction in it, Charops excepted, had opposed the Romans. However, as they submitted with great cheerfulness, he had a greater regard to their present disposition than to their past fault; a conduct that won him entirely the hearts of the Epirots. From thence he marched into Thessaly. The Ætolians and Athamanians had already taken several cities in that country; and he took the most considerable of them. Atrax, a city he besieged, detained him a long time, and made so stout a defence, that he at last was forced to leave it.

(*r*) In the mean time the Roman fleet, reinforced by those of Attalus and the Rhodians, was also active. They took two of the chief cities of Eubœa, Eretria and Cariste, garrisoned by Macedonians; after which, the three fleets advanced towards Cenchreæ, a port of Corinth.

The consul marching into Phocis, most of the cities surrendered voluntarily. Elatia was the only city that shut her gates against him; so that he was obliged to besiege it in form. Whilst he was carrying on this siege, he meditated an important design; and this was, to induce the Achæans to abandon Philip, and join the Romans. The three united fleets were upon the point of laying siege to Corinth; however, before he began it, he thought proper to offer the Achæans to make Corinth enter again into their league, and to deliver it up to them, provided they would declare for the Romans. Ambassadors, sent in the consul's name by Lucius, his brother, and in the name of Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians, carried this message. The Achæans gave them audience in Sicyon.

The Achæans were very much at a loss in regard to the resolution it was necessary to take. The power of the Lacedæmonians, their perpetual enemies, kept them

them in awe; and, on the other side, they were in still greater dread of the Romans. They had received from time immemorial, and very lately, great favours from the Macedonians; but Philip was universally suspected upon account of his perfidy and cruelty; and they were afraid of being enslaved by him, when the war should be terminated. Such was the disposition of the Achæans. The Roman ambassador spoke first, and afterwards those of Attalus, the Rhodians, and Philip: The Athenians were appointed to speak last, in order that they might refute what Philip's ambassador should advance. They spoke with the greatest virulency against the king, because no people had been so cruelly treated by him; and they gave a long detail of his injustice and cruelty in regard to them. These speeches took up the whole day, so that the assembly was put off till the morrow.

All the members being met, the herald, as was the custom, gave notice, in the name of the magistrates, that all those who intended to speak, might begin. But no one rose up; and all, gazing upon one another, continued in a deep silence. Upon this Aristenes, chief magistrate of the Achæans, in order that the assembly might not break up without doing business, spoke as follows: "What then is become of that warmth and vigour, with which you used to dispute, at your tables and in your conversations, about Philip and the Romans; which generally rose to so great a height, that you were ready to cut one another's throats? And now, in an assembly summoned for no other purpose, after hearing the speeches and arguments on both sides, you are mute! Surely, if the love of your country cannot loose your tongues, ought not the resolution which each of you has formed in private, either for or against Philip and the Romans, to oblige you to speak; especially as there is none of you but knows, that it will be too late, after the resolution shall be once taken?"

These reproaches, though so judicious and reasonable, and made by the principal magistrate, could not prevail with any one of the members to give his opinion ; nor even occasioned the least murmur, the least noise in this assembly, though so very numerous, and composed of the representatives of so many states. Every body continued dumb and motionless.

Aristenes then spoke again to this effect : “ Chiefs of the Achæans, I perceive plainly that you want courage more than counsel ; since not one among you dares to speak his sentiments, with regard to the common interest. Was I a private man, I possibly might act as you do ; but being the chief magistrate of the Achæans, it is my opinion, either that the ambassadors should not have been allowed to assemble us, or that they should not be dismissed without some answer. Now, how will it be possible for me to make any, unless you authorized me by a decree ? But, since not one among you will, or dares speak his thoughts, let us suppose for a moment, that the speeches of the ambassadors which we heard yesterday, are so many counsels they give, not for their own interest, but purely for ours ; and let us weigh them maturely. The Romans, the Rhodians, and Attalus, desire our friendship and alliance ; and they request us to assist them in their war against Philip. On the other side, the latter puts us in mind of the treaty which we concluded with him, and sealed and ratified by an oath : One moment he requires us to join with him, and the next he insists upon our observing a strict neutrality. Is no one among you surprized to hear those, who are not yet our allies, demand more than he who has long been a confederate ? Doubtless, it is not either modesty in Philip, nor temerity in the Romans, which prompts them to act and speak as they do. This difference in their sentiments arises from the disparity of their strength and situation. My meaning is ; we see nothing here belonging to Philip but his ambassa-

“dor; whereas the Roman fleet now lies at anchor
 “near Cenchreæ, laden with the spoils of Eubœa;
 “and the consul and his legions, who are but at a
 “little distance from the fleet, lay waste Phocis and
 “Locris with impunity. You are surprized that
 “Cleomedon, Philip’s ambassador, should have ad-
 “vised you, in so fearful and reserved a manner, to
 “take up arms in favour of the king against the Ro-
 “mans. If, in consequence of the treaty in question,
 “and of the oath on which he lays such stress, we
 “should require Philip to defend us against Nabis,
 “the Lacedæmonians, and the Romans; he would
 “not have any answer to make, much less would he
 “be able to give us any real succour. This we expe-
 “rienced last year, when notwithstanding the express
 “words of our alliance, and the mighty promises he
 “made us, he suffered Nabis and the Lacedæmonians
 “to ravage our lands without opposition. In my
 “opinion, Cleomedon seemed evidently to contradict
 “himself in every part of his speech. He spoke
 “with contempt of the war against the Romans, pre-
 “tending it would have the same success, as that
 “which they had already made with Philip. Why
 “then does he implore our succour at a distance, and
 “by an ambassador; instead of coming and defend-
 “ing us in person (we who are his ancient allies)
 “against Nabis and the Romans? Why did he suffer
 “Eretria and Cariste to be taken? Why has he
 “abandoned so many cities of Thessaly, and every
 “part of Phocis and Locris? Why does he suffer
 “Elatia to be besieged at this instant? Was it a su-
 “perior strength, was it fear, or his own will, that
 “made him abandon the defiles of Epirus, and give
 “up to the enemy those insuperable barriers, to go
 “and conceal himself in the most remote part of his
 “kingdom? If he has voluntarily abandoned so many
 “allies to the mercy of the enemy, ought he to keep
 “them from providing for their own safety? But, if
 “he was actuated by fear, he ought to forgive the
 “same weakness in us. If he has been forced to it,
 “do

“ do you, O Cleomedon, believe, that it is possible
“ for us, Achæans, to make head against the Roman
“ arms, to which the Macedonians have been obliged
“ to submit? No comparison can be made between
“ the past and the present war. The Romans, at
“ that time, employed in affairs of greater impor-
“ tance, gave their allies little or no aid. Now they
“ have put an end to the Punick war, which they
“ sustained sixteen years in the center of Italy, they
“ do not send succours to the Ætolians, but they
“ themselves, at the head of their armies, invade
“ Philip both by sea and land. Quintius, the third
“ consul whom they have sent against him, having
“ found him in a post which seemed inaccessible, did
“ nevertheless force him from it, plundered his camp,
“ pursued him to Thessaly, and took, almost in his
“ sight, the strongest fortresses belonging to his allies.
“ I will take it for granted, that whatever the Athe-
“ nian ambassador has advanced concerning the cruel-
“ ty, the avarice, and the excesses of Philip, is not
“ true; that the crimes which he committed in At-
“ tica do not any way affect us, any more than those
“ he perpetrated in many other places against the
“ gods celestial, terrestrial, and infernal; that we
“ even ought to bury in everlasting oblivion, the in-
“ juries we have suffered for him. In a word, if we
“ suppose that we are not treating with Philip, but
“ with Antigonus, a mild and just prince, and from
“ whom we all have received the greatest services;
“ would he make a demand like that of to-day, so
“ evidently opposite to our safety and preservation?
“ In case Nabis and his Lacedæmonians should come
“ and invade us by land, and the Roman fleet by sea,
“ will it be possible for the king to support us against
“ such formidable enemies, or shall we be able to de-
“ fend ourselves? Past transactions point out to what
“ we must expect hereafter. The medium which is
“ proposed, of our standing neuter, will infallibly
“ render us a prey to the conqueror, who will not fail
“ to attack us as cunning politicians, who waited for

“ the event, before we would declare ourselves. Believe what I say, when I assure you there is no medium. We either must have the Romans for our friends or for our enemies ; and they are come to us with a strong fleet, to offer us their friendship, and their aid. To refuse so advantageous an offer, and slight so favourable an occasion, which will never return, would be the highest folly, and show that we run voluntarily on our own destruction.”

This speech was followed by a great noise and murmuring throughout the whole assembly, some applauding it with joy, and others opposing it with violence. The magistrates, called *Demiurgi*, were no less divided among themselves. Of these, who were ten in number, five declared that each of them would deliberate upon the affair in his assembly, and before his people; and the other five protested against it, upon pretence that the laws forbade both the magistrate to propose, and the assembly to pass, any decree contrary to the alliance concluded with Philip. This day was entirely spent in quarrels and tumultuous cries. There remained but one day more, on which the laws appointed the assembly to end. The debates grew so hot, with regard to what was to be concluded in it, that fathers could scarce forbear striking their sons. Memnon of Pellene was one of the five magistrates who refused to make the report. His father, whose name was Rhisiases, intreated and conjured him a long time, to let the Achæans provide for their own safety ; and not expose them, by his obstinacy, to inevitable ruin. Finding his prayers could not avail, he swore that he would kill him with his own hands, if he did not come into his opinion, considering him, not as his son, but the enemy of his country. These terrible menaces, and paternal authority, made such an impression on Memnon, that he at last acquiesced.

The next day, the majority in the assembly desiring to have the affair debated, and the people discovering plainly enough what it was they wanted, the Dymeans, Megalopolitans, and some of the Argives, withdrew
from

from the assembly before the decree passed: And no one took offence at this, because they had particular obligations to Philip, who also had lately done them very considerable services. Gratitude is a virtue common to all ages and nations, and ingratitude is abhorred every where. All the other states, when the votes were to be taken, confirmed immediately, by a decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; and suspended the entire conclusion of that with the Romans, till ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the people, without which nothing could be concluded.

In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Quintius; and the whole army of the Achæans marched to Corinth, which Lucius, the consul's brother, had already besieged, having before taken Cenchreæ. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, from the hopes that a quarrel would soon arise between the garrison and the inhabitants. However, finding the city was quiet, the machines of war were made to approach on all sides, and various assaults were made, which the besieged sustained with great vigour, and always repulsed the Romans. There was in Corinth a great number of Italian deserters, who, in case the city was taken, expected no quarter from the Romans, and therefore fought in despair. Philocles, one of Philip's captains, having thrown a fresh reinforcement into the city, and the Romans despairing to force it; at last Lucius acquiesced with the advice of Attalus, and accordingly the siege was raised. The Achæans being sent away, Attalus and the Romans returned on board the fleets. The former sailed to the Piræus, and the latter to Corcyra.

Whilst the fleets besieged Corinth, T. Quintius the consul was employed in the siege of Elatea, where he was more successful: For, after the besieged had made a stout and vigorous resistance, he took the city, and afterwards the citadel.

At the same time, such of the inhabitants of Argos as had declared for Philip, found means to deliver up

their city to Philocles, one of his generals. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the Achæans had just before concluded with the Romans, Philip still possessed two of their strongest cities, Corinth and Argos.

SECT. III. FLAMININUS *is continued in the command as proconsul. He has a fruitless interview with PHILIP about concluding a peace. The Ætolians, and NABIS, tyrant of Sparta, declare for the Romans. Sicknefs and death of ATTALUS. FLAMININUS defeats PHILIP in a battle near Scotussa and Cynoscephale in Thessaly. A peace concluded with PHILIP, which puts an end to the Macedonian war. The extraordinary joy of the Greeks at the Isthmian games, when advice is brought, that they are restored to their ancient liberty by the Romans.*

A. M. (a) **N**EW consuls were appointed at Rome, but ^{3807.} as the slow progress which had been made in the affairs of Macedonia, were justly ascribed to the frequent changing of those who were charged with them, Flamininus was continued in his command, and recruits were sent him.

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(b) The season being already advanced, Quintius had taken up his winter-quarters in Phocis and Locris, when Philip sent a herald to him, to desire an interview. Quintius complied very readily, because he did not know what had been resolved upon at Rome with regard to himself; and that a conference would give him the liberty, either to continue the war, in case he should be continued in the command, or dispose matters so as to bring about a peace, if a successor were appointed him. The time and place being agreed upon, both parties met. Philip was attended by several Macedonian noblemen, and Cyliadus, one of the chief of the Achæans, whom that people had banished a little before. The Roman general was accompanied by Amynder, king of Athamania, and by all the deputies of the allies. After some disputes

(a) Liv. l. xxxii. n. 27, & 28. (b) Ibid. n. 32---37. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 742---752. Plut. in Flamin. p. 371.

with regard to the ceremonial, Quintius made his proposals, and every one of the allies their demands. Philip answered them, and as he began to inveigh against the Ætolians, Phineas, their magistrate, interrupted him in these words: "We are not met here merely about words; our business is, either to conquer sword in hand, or to submit to the most powerful."—— "A blind man may see that," replied Philip, ridiculing Phineas, whose sight was bad. Philip * was very fond of jests, and could not refrain from them, even in treating on the most serious affairs; a behaviour very unbecoming in a prince.

This first interview being spent in contests, they met again the next day. Philip came very late to the place of meeting, which it was believed he did purposely, in order that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have time sufficient for answering him. He had a private conference with Quintius, who having acquainted the confederates with his proposals, not one approved them; and they were upon the point of breaking off the conference, when Philip desired that the decision might be suspended till the next day; promising that he himself would comply, in case it were not in his power to bring them into his opinion. At their next meeting, he earnestly intreated Quintius and the allies not to oppose a peace; promising, either to agree to it on the conditions which he himself should prescribe, or accept of such as the senate might require. They could not refuse so reasonable a demand; and accordingly a truce was agreed, but on condition, that his troops should immediately leave Phocis and Locris. After this, the several parties sent ambassadors to Rome.

Being arrived there, those of the allies were heard first. They inveighed heavily against Philip upon several accounts; but they endeavoured particularly to prove, by the situation of the places, that in case he should continue possessed of Demetrias in Thessaly,

D 4

Chalcis

* *Erat dicacior natura quàm regem decet, & ne inter seria quidem risu satis temperans. Liv.*

Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia, (cities which he himself justly, though insolently, calls the shackles of Greece) it would be impossible for that country to enjoy its liberty. The king's ambassadors were afterwards called in. As they opened with a subject that would have spun to a great length, they were interrupted, and asked at once, whether they would give up the three cities in question? Having answered, that no orders or instructions had been given them on that head, they were sent back, without being gratified in a single demand. It was left to the option of Quintius, either to conclude a peace or carry on the war. By this he perceived that the senate would not be dissatisfied at the latter; and he himself was much better pleased to put an end to the war by a victory, than by a treaty of peace. He therefore would not agree to an interview with Philip; and sent to acquaint him, that hereafter he would never agree to any proposals he might offer with regard to peace, if he did not engage by way of preliminary entirely to quit Greece.

(c) Philip was now firmly resolved to make the necessary preparations for war. As it would be difficult for him to preserve the cities of Achæa, through their great distance from his hereditary dominions, he delivered up Argos to Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, but only as a trust, which he was to surrender back to him, in case he should be victorious in this war; but, if things should fall out otherwise, he then was to possess it as his own. The tyrant accepting the conditions, was brought in the night into the city. Immediately the houses and possessions of such of the chiefs as had fled were plundered; and those who staid behind were robbed of all their gold and silver, and taxed in very heavy sums. Those who gave their money readily and chearfully, were not molested; but such as were either suspected to conceal their riches, or discovered only part of them, were cruelly whipped with rods like so many slaves, and treated with the utmost indignity.

indignity. Nabis, having summoned the assembly, the first decree he enacted was for abolishing of debts; and the second, for dividing the lands equally among the citizens. This is the double bait generally hung out, to win the affections of the common people, and exasperate them against the rich.

The tyrant soon forgot from whom, and on what condition, he held the city. He sent ambassadors to Quintius and to Attalus, to acquaint them that he was master of Argos; and to invite them to an interview, in which he hoped that they would agree, without difficulty, to such conditions of a treaty as he was desirous of concluding with them. His proposal was accepted: In consequence of which the proconsul and the king had an interview with him near Argos; a step which seemed very unbecoming both. In this meeting the Romans insisted that Nabis should furnish them with troops, and discontinue the war with the Achæans. The tyrant agreed to the first article, but would consent only to a four month's truce with the Achæans. The treaty was concluded on those conditions. This alliance with such a tyrant as Nabis, so infamous for his injustice and cruelty, reflects dishonour on the Romans; but in war, soldiers think themselves allowed to take all advantages, at the expence even of honour and equity.

Nabis, after putting a strong garrison into Argos, had plundered all the men, and dispossessed them of all their riches: A little after he sent his wife thither, to use the ladies in the same manner. Accordingly, she sent for the women of the greatest distinction, either separately or in company; when, partly by civility, and partly by threats, she extorted from them at different times, not only all their gold, but also their richest clothes, their most valuable moveables, and all their precious stones and jewels.

(d) When the spring was come, (for the incidents I have here related happened in the winter) Quintius and Attalus resolved, if possible, to secure the alliance

of the Bœotians, which till then had been uncertain and wavering. In this view they went, with some ambassadors of the confederates, to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place where the common assembly met. They were secretly favoured and supported by Antiphilus the chief magistrate. The Bœotians thought at first that they had come without forces and unguarded; but were greatly surprized when they saw Quintius followed by a considerable detachment of troops, whence they immediately judged, that things would be carried on in an arbitrary manner in the assembly. It was summoned to meet on the morrow. However, they concealed their grief and surprize; and indeed it would have been of no use, and even dangerous to have discovered them.

Attalus spoke first; and expatiated on the services which his ancestors and himself had done all Greece, and the republick of the Bœotians in particular. Being hurried away by his zeal for the Romans, and speaking with greater vehemence than suited his age, he fell down in the midst of his speech, and seemed half dead; so that they were forced to carry him out of the assembly, which interrupted their deliberations for some time. Aristhenes, captain-general of the Achæans, spoke next; and after him Quintius, who did not speak much; and laid greater stress on the fidelity of the Romans, than on their power or arms. Afterwards the votes were taken, when an alliance with the Romans was unanimously resolved upon; no one daring to oppose, or speak against it.

As Attalus's disorder did not seem dangerous, Quintius left him at Thebes, and returned to Elatea; highly satisfied with the double alliance he had concluded with the Achæans and Bœotians, which entirely secured him behind, and gave him an opportunity of employing his whole attention, and efforts on the side of Macedonia.

(c) As soon as Attalus had recovered a little strength, he was carried to Pergamus, where he died soon after, aged

aged threescore and twelve years, of which he had reigned forty-four. Polybius observes, that Attalus did not imitate most great men, to whom great riches are generally the occasion of plunging into vices and irregularities of every kind. His generous and magnificent use of riches, directed and tempered by prudence, gave him an opportunity of enlarging his dominions, and of adorning himself with the title of king. He imagined he was rich, only that he might do good to others; and thought that he put out his money at a high and very lawful interest, in expending it in acts of bounty, and in purchasing friends. He governed his subjects with the strictest justice, and always observed his engagements inviolably with his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender husband, an affectionate father; and perfectly discharged all the duties of a king and of a private man. He left four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Phileteres, and Athenæus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

(f) The armies on both sides had set out upon their march, in order to terminate the war by a battle. The forces were pretty equal on both sides, and each consisted of about twenty-five or twenty-six thousand men. Quintius advanced into Thessaly, where he was informed the enemy were also arrived; but being unable to discover exactly the place where they were encamped, he commanded his soldiers to cut stakes, in order to make use of them upon occasion.

Here Polybius and Livy, who frequently copies him, show the different manner in which the Greeks and Romans used the stakes with which they fortified their camp. Among the former, the best stakes were those round whose trunk a greater number of branches were spread, which made them so much the heavier; besides, as the arms of the Grecian soldiers were so ponderous that they could scarce carry them, they consequently could not easily carry stakes at the same time. Now the Romans did not leave above three, or at most

(f) Polyb. l. xvii. p. 754---762. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 3, 11. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372, 373. Justin. l. xxx. c. 4.

most four branches to each stake they cut, and all of them on the same side. In this manner the foldier was able to carry two or three of them, when tied together, and especially as he was not incommoded with his arms; his buckler being thrown over his shoulder, and having only two or three javelins in his hand.

Farther, the latter kind of stakes do much greater service. Those of the Greeks might very easily be pulled up. As this stake, whose trunk was large, was single and detached from the rest; and besides, as the branches of it were strong and many in number, two or three foldiers could easily pull it out, and by that means open a way to enter the camp; not to mention that all the stakes near it must necessarily have been loosened, because their branches were too short to interweave one with the other. But it was not so with the stakes cut by the Romans; their branches being so closely interwoven, that it was scarce possible to discover the stake to which they belonged. Nor could any man pull up those stakes by thrusting his hand into the branches, which were so closely entwined, that no vacant place was left; besides which, all the ends of them were sharp-pointed. But though any hold could have been laid on them, yet the foot could not easily be removed, for two reasons; first, because it was drove so deep into the ground, that there was no moving it; and secondly, because the branches were so closely interwove, that it was impossible to pull up one, without forcing away several others at the same time. Though two or three men put their whole strength to them, it yet was impossible for them to force the stakes away. And yet, whenever by shaking and moving them about, they at last were forced out of their places, still the opening made in that manner was almost imperceptible. Thus these kind of stakes were preferable, on three accounts, to those of the Greeks: They were to be had every where, could be carried with ease, and were a very strong palisade to a camp.

These sort of digressions, made by so great a master as Polybius, which turn on the usages and practice of war,

war, commonly please persons of the military profession, to whom they may furnish useful hints; and, in my opinion, I ought to neglect nothing that may conduce to the publick utility.

After the general had taken the precautions above mentioned, he marched out at the head of all his forces. After a few skirmishes, in which the Ætolian cavalry signalized themselves, and were always victorious, the two armies halted near Scotuffa. Exceeding heavy rains, attended with thunder, having fallen the night before, the next day was so cloudy and dark, that a man could scarce see two paces before him. Philip then detached a body of troops, commanding them to seize upon the summit of the hills called Cynoscephale, which separated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintius also detached ten squadrons of horse, and about a thousand light-armed troops, to reconnoitre the enemy; and at the same time directed them in the strongest terms to beware of ambuscades, as the weather was so very gloomy. This detachment met that of the Macedonians which had seized the eminences. At first, both parties were a little surprized at meeting, and afterwards began to skirmish. Each party sent advice to the general of what was doing. The Romans, being not very able to oppose the enemy, dispatched a courier to desire a reinforcement. Quintius immediately sent Archedamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians; and with them two tribunes, each of whom commanded a thousand men, with five hundred horse, which joining the former, soon changed the face of the engagement. The Macedonians behaved valiantly enough; but being oppressed with the weight of their arms, they fled to the hills, and from thence sent to the king for succour.

Philip, who had detached a party of his soldiers for forage, being informed of the danger his first troops were in, and the sky beginning to clear up, dispatched Heraclides, who commanded the Thessalian cavalry, Leo, who commanded that of Macedonia, and Athenagoras, under whom were all the hired soldiers,
those

those of Thrace excepted. When this reinforcement joined the first detachment, the courage of the Macedonians revived, and they returned to the charge, and drove the Romans from the hills. They even would have gained a complete victory, had it not been for the resistance made by the Ætolian cavalry, who fought with astonishing courage and intrepidity. These were the best soldiers among the Greeks, and were particularly famous for skirmishes and single combats. These so well sustained the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, that had it not been for their bravery, the Romans would have been repulsed into the valley. At some distance from the enemy, they took breath a little, and afterwards returned to the fight.

Couriers came every moment to inform Philip, that the Romans were terrified and fled, and that the time was come for defeating them entirely. Philip was not pleased either with the place or the weather, but could not refuse himself either to the repeated shouts or intreaties of his soldiers, who besought him to lead them on to battle; and accordingly he marched them out of his entrenchments. The proconsul did the same, and drew up his soldiers in order of battle.

The leaders on each side, in this instant which was going to determine their fate, animated their troops by all the most affecting motives. Philip represented to his soldiers, the Persians, Bactrians, Indians, in a word, all Asia and the whole East, subdued by their victorious arms; adding, that they ought to behave with the greater courage, as they now were to fight, not for sovereignty, but for liberty, which, to valiant minds, is more dear and valuable than the empire of the universe. As to the proconsul, he put his soldiers in mind of the victories they had so lately gained: On one side, Sicily and Carthage; on the other, Italy and Spain, subdued by the Romans; and to say all in a word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, certainly equal, if not superior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms: And which ought to
rouze

rouze their courage the more, Philip, whom they now were going to engage, defeated more than once, and obliged to fly before them.

Fired * by these speeches, the soldiers, who, on one side, called themselves victors of the East; and on the other, conquerors of the West; the former, fired with the glorious achievements of their ancestors; and the latter, proud of the trophies and the victories they had so lately gained; prepared on each side for battle. Flamininus, having commanded the right wing not to move from its post, placed the elephants in the front of this wing; and marching with an haughty and intrepid air, led on the left wing against the enemy in person. And now the skirmishers seeing themselves supported by the legions, return to the charge, and begin the attack.

Philip, with his light-armed troops, and the right wing of his phalanx, hastens towards the mountains; commanding Nicanor to march the rest of the army immediately after him. When he approached the Roman camp, and found his light-armed troops engaged, he was exceedingly pleased at the sight. However, not long after seeing them give way, and in exceeding want of support, he was obliged to sustain them, and engage in a general battle, though the greatest part of his phalanx was still upon their march towards the hills where he then was. In the mean time he receives such of his troops as had been repulsed; posts them, whether horse or foot, on his right wing; and commands the light-armed soldiers and the phalanx to double their files, and to keep their ranks close on the right.

This being done, as the Romans were near, he commands the phalanx to march towards them with their pikes presented, and the light-armed to extend beyond them on the right and left. Quintius had also, at the same time, received into his intervals those
who

* His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, prælio concurrunt, alteri Orientis, alteri Occidentis imperio gloriantes, ferentisque in bellum, alii majorum suorum antiquam & obsoletam gloriam, alii virentem recentibus experimentis virtutis florem. *Justin.*

who had begun the fight, and he charged the Macedonians. The onset being begun, each side sent up the most dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had visibly all the advantage; for, charging impetuously from those hills with his phalanx on the Romans, the latter could not sustain the shock of troops so well closed and covered with their shields, and an impenetrable front of pikes. The Romans were obliged to give way.

But it was different with regard to Philip's left wing, which was but just arrived. As its ranks were broke and separated by the hillocks and uneven ground, Quintius flew to his right wing, and charged vigorously the left wing of the Macedonians; persuaded, that if he could but break it, and put it in disorder, it would draw after it the other wing, although victorious. The event answered his expectation. As this wing, on account of the unevenness and ruggedness of the ground, could not keep in the form of a phalanx, nor double its ranks to give depth to that order of battle, in which its whole strength consists, it was entirely defeated.

On this occasion a tribune, who had not above twenty companies under him, made a movement that contributed very much to the victory. Observing that Philip, who was at a great distance from the rest of the army, charged the left wing of the Romans with vigour, he leaves the right where he was (it not being in want of support) and considering the present disposition of the armies, consulting only his own reason, he marches towards the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, and charges them in the rear with all his troops. The phalanx, on account of the prodigious length of the pikes, and the closeness of its ranks, cannot face about to the rear, nor fight man to man. The tribune breaks into it, killing all before him as he advanced; and the Macedonians, not being able to defend themselves, throw down their arms, and fly. What increased the slaughter was, that the Romans who had given way, having rallied, were returned to attack the phalanx in front at the same time.

Philip,

Philip, judging at first of the rest of the battle, from the advantage he had obtained in his wing, assured himself of a complete victory. But when he saw his soldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans pouring upon them from behind, he drew off with a body of troops to some distance from the field of battle, and from thence took a survey of the whole engagement; but perceiving that the Romans, who pursued his left wing, extended almost to the summit of the mountains, he got together all the Thracians and Macedonians he could assemble, and endeavoured to save himself by flight.

After the battle, in every part of which victory had declared for the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe, where he halted, to wait for those who had escaped the defeat. He had been so prudent as to send orders to Larissa to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have an opportunity of distressing any of his friends. The Romans pursued for some time those who fled. The Ætolians were accused of having occasioned Philip's escape. For they amused themselves in plundering his camp, whilst the Romans were employed in pursuing the enemy; so that when they returned, they found almost nothing in it. They reproached them at first on that account, and afterwards quarrelled outright, each side loading the other with the grossest insults. On the morrow, after having got together the prisoners and the rest of the spoils, they marched towards Larissa. The Romans lost about seven hundred men in this battle, and the Macedonians thirteen thousand, whereof eight thousand died in the field, and five thousand were taken prisoners. Thus ended the battle of Cynoscephale.

The Ætolians had certainly signalized themselves in this battle, and contributed very much to the victory: But then they were so vain, or rather insolent, as to ascribe the success of it entirely to themselves; declaring, without reserve or modesty, that they were far better soldiers than the Romans; and spread this report throughout all Greece. Quintius, who was al-

ready offended at them, for their greedy impatience in seizing the plunder without waiting for the Romans; was still more enraged at them for their insolent reports in regard to their superior valour. From that time he behaved with great coldness towards them, and never informed them of any thing relating to publick affairs, affecting to humble their pride on all occasions.

These reports seem to have made too strong an impression on Quintius, who ought, in prudence, to have acted with more tenderness and caution in regard to allies so useful to the Romans; for by thus alienating their affection, he paved the way, at a distance, for that open defection, to which the resentment of the Ætolians afterwards carried them. But had he dissembled wisely; had he shut his eyes and ears to many things; and appeared sometimes ignorant of what the Ætolians might say or do improperly, he might perhaps have remedied every thing.

Some days after the battle, Philip sent ambassadors to Flamininus who was at Larissa, upon pretence of desiring a truce for burying the dead; but, in reality, to obtain an interview with him. The proconsul agreed to both requests; and was so polite, as to bid the messenger tell the king, *That he desired him not to despond.* The Ætolians were highly offended at this message. As these people were not well acquainted with the character of the Romans, and judged of theirs from their own, they imagined that Flamininus would not have appeared favourable to Philip, if the latter had not corrupted him by bribes; and they were not ashamed to spread such reports among the allies.

The Roman general set out, with the confederates, for the entrance to Tempe, which was the appointed rendezvous. He assembled them before the king arrived, to enquire what they thought of the conditions of peace. Arynandrus, king of Athamania, who spoke in the name of the rest, said, that such a treaty ought to be concluded, as might enable Greece to pre-
serve

serve peace and liberty, even in the absence of the Romans.

Alexander the Ætolian spoke next, and said, That if the proconsul imagined, that in concluding a peace with Philip, he should procure a solid peace for the Romans, or lasting liberty for the Greeks, he was greatly mistaken: That the only way to put an end to the Macedonian war, would be to drive Philip out of his kingdom; and that this might be very easily effected, provided he would take the advantage of the present occasion. After corroborating what he had advanced with several reasons, he sat down.

Quintius, addressing himself to Alexander; " You do not know," says he, " either the character of the Romans, my views, or the interest of Greece. It is not usual with the Romans, after they have engaged in war with a king, or other power, to ruin him entirely; and of this Hannibal and the Carthaginians are a manifest proof. As to myself, I never intended to make an irreconcilable war against Philip; but was inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he should yield to the conditions that should be prescribed him. You yourselves, Ætolians, in the assemblies which were held for that purpose, never once mentioned depriving Philip of his kingdom. Should victory inspire us with such a design? How shameful were such sentiments? When an enemy attacks us in the field, it is our business to repel him with bravery and haughtiness: But when he is fallen, it is the duty of the victor to show moderation, gentleness and humanity. With regard to the Greeks, it is their interest, I confess, that the kingdom of Macedonia should be less powerful than formerly; but it no less concerns their welfare, that it should not be entirely destroyed. That kingdom serves them as a barrier against the Thracians and Gauls *, who, were they not checked by it, would certainly fall heavy upon Greece, as they have frequently done before."

E 2

Flamininus

* A great number of Gauls had settled in the countries adjoining to Thrace.

Flamininus concluded with declaring, that his opinion, and that of the council, were, that if Philip would promise to observe faithfully all the conditions which the allies had formerly prescribed, that then a peace should be granted him, after having consulted the senate about it; and that the Ætolians might form whatever resolutions they pleased on this occasion. Phineas, prætor of the Ætolians, having represented, in very strong terms, that Philip, if he should escape the present danger, would soon form new projects, and light up a fresh war: "I shall take care of that," replied the proconsul; "and shall take effectual methods to put it out of his power to undertake any thing against us."

The next day, Philip arrived at the place appointed for the conference; and three days after the council being met again, he came into it, and spoke with so much prudence and wisdom, as softened the whole assembly. He declared that he would accept, and execute whatever conditions the Romans and the allies should prescribe; and that with regard to every thing else, he would rely entirely on the discretion of the senate. Upon these words the whole council were silent. Only Phineas the Ætolian started some difficulties, which were altogether improper, and for that reason entirely disregarded.

But what prompted Flamininus to urge the conclusion of the peace was, his having advice, that Antiochus, at the head of an army, was marching out of Syria, in order to make an irruption into Europe. He apprehended, that Philip might think of putting his cities into a condition of defence, and thereby might gain time. Besides, he was sensible, that should another consul come in his stead, all the honour of that war would be ascribed to him. These reasons prevailed with him to grant the king a four month's truce; whereupon he received four * hundred talents from him, took Demetrius his son, and some of his friends, as hostages; and gave him permission to send

to

* Four hundred thousand French crowns.

to Rome, to receive such farther conditions from the senate as they should prescribe: Matters being thus adjusted, the parties separated, after having mutually promised, that in case a peace should not be concluded, Flamininus should return Philip the talents and the hostages. This being done, the several parties concerned sent deputations to Rome; some to solicit peace, and others to throw obstacles in its way.

(f) Whilst these measures were concerting; to bring about a general peace, some expeditions, of little importance, were undertaken in several places. Androsthenes, who commanded under the king at Corinth, had a considerable body of troops, consisting of above six thousand men: He was defeated in a battle by Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, who came upon him unawares, and attacked him at a time when his troops were dispersed up and down the plains, and plundering the country. The Acarnanians were divided in their sentiments; some being for Philip, and others for the Romans. The latter had laid siege to Leucus. News being brought of the victory gained at Cynoscephale, the whole country submitted to the conquerors. At the same time the Rhodians took Perea, a small country in Caria, which, as they pretended, belonged to them, and had been unjustly taken from them by the Macedonians. Philip, on the other side, repulsed the Dardaniens, who had made an inroad into his kingdom, to plunder it during the ill state of his affairs. After this expedition, the king retired to Theſſalonica.

(g) At Rome, the time for the election of consuls being come, L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus were chosen. At the same time letters arrived from Quintius, containing the particulars of his victory over Philip. They were first read before the senate, and afterwards to the people; and publick prayers during five days were ordered, to thank the

E 3

gods

A. M.
3808.
Ant. J. C.
196.

(f) Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 14---19. (g) Polyb. Excerpt. Legat.
p. 793, 794. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 24. & 27---29.

gods for the protection they had granted the Romans, in the war against Philip.

Some days after, ambassadors arrived to treat of the intended peace with the king of Macedonia; the affair was debated in the senate. Each of the ambassadors made long speeches, according to his respective views and interests; but at last, the majority were for peace. The same affair being brought before the people, Marcellus, who passionately desired to command the armies in Greece, used his utmost endeavours to break the treaty, but all to no purpose; for the people approved of Flaminius's proposal, and ratified the conditions. Afterwards the senate appointed ten of the most illustrious citizens to go into Greece, in order for them to settle, in conjunction with Flaminius, the affairs of that country, and secure its liberties. In the same assembly, the Achæans desired to be received as allies of the people of Rome: But that affair meeting with some difficulties, it was referred to the ten commissioners.

A sedition had broke out in Bœotia, between the partizans of Philip and those of the Romans, which rose to a great height. Nevertheless, it was not attended with any ill consequences, the proconsul having soon appeased it.

(b) The ten commissioners, who had set out from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece, arrived soon in that country. The chief conditions of the treaty of peace, which they settled in concert with Flaminius, were as follow: That all the other * cities of Greece, both in Asia and Europe, should be free, and be governed by their own laws: That Philip, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, should evacuate those in which he then had garrisons: That he should restore to the Romans all the prisoners and deserters, and

(b) Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 795---800. Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 30---35. Plut. in Flam. p. 374---376.

* This word other, is put here in opposition to such of the Grecian cities as were subject to Philip, part of which only were restored to their liberties, because the Romans thought it necessary to garrison Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth.

and deliver up to them all the ships that had decks, (five feluccas excepted) and the galley having sixteen benches of rowers. That he should pay * a thousand talents; one half down, and the other half in ten years, fifty every year, by way of tribute. Among the hostages required of him, was Demetrius his son, who accordingly was sent to Rome.

In this manner Flaminius ended the Macedonian war, to the great satisfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome. For, not to mention Hannibal, who, though vanquished, might still have an opportunity of finding the Romans considerable employment, Antiochus, seeing his power considerably increased by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the surname of Great, had actually resolved to carry his arms into Europe. If therefore Flaminius, by his great prudence, had not foreseen what would come to pass, and had not speedily concluded this peace; had the war against Antiochus been joined; in the midst of Greece, with the war carrying on against Philip; and had the two greatest and most powerful kings then in the world (uniting their views and interests) invaded Rome at the same time; it is certain, the Romans would have been engaged in as many battles, and as great dangers, as those they had been obliged to sustain in the war against Hannibal.

As soon as this treaty of peace was known, all Greece, Ætolia excepted, received the news of it with universal joy. The inhabitants of the latter country seemed dissatisfied, and inveighed privately against it among the confederates, affirming, that it was nothing but empty words; that the Greeks were amused with the name of liberty; with which specious term the Romans covered their interested views. That they indeed suffered the cities in Asia to enjoy their freedom; but that they seemed to reserve to themselves those of Europe, as Orea, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. That therefore Greece, strictly speaking,

E 4

was

* About 190,000*l*.

was not freed from its chains; and, at most, had only changed its sovereign.

These complaints made the proconsul so much the more uneasy, as they were not altogether without foundation. The commissioners, pursuant to the instructions they had received from Rome, advised Flamininus to restore all the Greeks to their liberty; but to keep possession of the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the inlets of Greece; and to put strong garrisons into them, to prevent their being seized by Antiochus. He obtained, in the council, to have Corinth set at liberty; but it was resolved there, that a strong garrison should be put into the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias; and this for a time only, till they should be entirely rid of their fears with regard to Antiochus.

It was now the time in which the Isthmian games were to be solemnized; and the expectation of what was there to be transacted, had drawn thither an incredible multitude of people, and persons of the highest rank. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely made publick, was the topick of all conversations, and various constructions were put on them; but very few could be persuaded, that the Romans would evacuate all the cities they had taken. All Greece was in this uncertainty, when the multitude being assembled in the stadium to see the games, a herald comes forward, and publishes with a loud voice; THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND TITUS QUINTIUS THE GENERAL, HAVING OVERCOME PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, EASE AND DELIVER FROM ALL GARRISONS, AND TAXES, AND IMPOSTS, THE CORINTHIANS, THE LOCRIANS, THE PHOCIANS, THE EUBOEANS, THE PHTHIOT ACHÆANS, THE MAGNESIANS, THE THESSALIANS, AND THE PERRHÆBIANS; DECLARE THEM FREE, AND ORDAIN THAT THEY SHALL BE GOVERNED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE LAWS AND USAGES.

At these * words, which many heard but imperfectly, because of the noise that interrupted them, all the spectators were filled with excess of joy. They gazed upon, and questioned one another with astonishment, and could not believe either their eyes or ears; so like a dream was what they then saw and heard. It was thought necessary for the herald to repeat the proclamation, which was now listened to with the most profound silence, so that not a single word of the decree was lost. But now fully assured of their happiness, they abandoned themselves again to the highest transports of joy, and broke into such loud and repeated acclamations, that the sea resounded them to a great distance; and some ravens, which happened to fly that instant over the assembly, fell down in the stadium: So true it is, that of all the blessings of this life, none are so dear to mankind as liberty! The games and sports were hurried over with neglect and disregard; for so great was the general joy upon this occasion, that it extinguished all other thoughts and regards.

The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to see his deliverer, to salute him, to kiss his hand, and to throw crowns and festoons of flowers over him; he would have run the hazard of being pressed to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years, (for he was not above thirty-three years old) and the joy which so glorious a day gave him, sustained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue of it.

And indeed I would ask, whether any mortal ever saw a more happy or more glorious day than this was for

* Audita voce præconis, majus gaudium fuit, quàm quod universum homines caperent. Vix satis credere se quisque audisse: alii alios intueri mirabundi velut somnii vanam speciem quod ad quemque pertineret, suarum aurium fidei minimùm credentes, proximos interrogabant. Revocatus præco—iterum pronunciare eadem, Tum ab certo jam gaudio

tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus, totiesque repetitus, ut faciliè appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius, quàm libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent. Adeo unum gaudium præoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatum. *Liv.* l. xxxiii. n. 32.

for Flamininus and the Roman people? What are all the triumphs of the world in comparison with what we have seen on this occasion? Should we estimate the value of all the trophies, all the victories, all the conquests of Alexander and the greatest captains, how little would they appear, when opposed to this single action of goodness, humanity, and justice? It is a great misfortune to princes, that they are not so sensible as they ought to be, to so refined a joy, to so affecting and exquisite a glory, as that which arises from doing good to many.

The remembrance * of so delightful a day, and of the invaluable blessing then bestowed, was for ever renewing, and for a long time the only subject of conversation at all times and in all places. Every one cried in the highest transports of admiration, and a kind of enthusiasm, "That there was a people in the world, who, at their own expence and the hazard of their lives, engage in a war for the liberty of other nations; and that not for their neighbours or people situated on the same continent, but who crossed seas, and sailed to distant climes, to destroy and extirpate unjust power from the earth, and to establish universally, law, equity, and justice. That by a single word, and the voice of a herald, liberty had been restored to all the cities of Greece and Asia. That a great soul only could have formed such a design; but that to execute it was the effect at once of the highest good fortune, and the most consummate virtue."

(k) They call to mind all the great battles which Greece had fought for the sake of liberty. "After sustaining so many wars," said they, "never was its
" valour

(k) Plut. in Flamin.

* Nec præsens omnium modò effusa lætitia est; sed per multos dies gratis & cogitationibus & sermonibus revocata. Esse aliquam in terris gentem, quæ sua impensa, suo labore ac pericula, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum: nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquæ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris con-

tinenti junctis præset: maria trahat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, & ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint. Una voce præconis liberatas omnes Græciæ atque Asiæ urbes. Hoc spe concipere, audacis animi fuisse: ad effectum adducere, virtutis & fortunæ ingentis. Liv. l. 33.

“ valour crowned with so blest a reward, as when
“ strangers came and took up arms in its defence. It
“ was then, that almost without shedding a drop of
“ blood, or losing scarce one man, it acquired the
“ greatest and noblest of all prizes for which man-
“ kind can contend. Valour and prudence are rare
“ at all times; but of all virtues, justice is most rare.
“ Agesilaus, Lyfander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, had
“ great abilities for carrying on war, and gaining
“ battles both by sea and land; but then it was for
“ themselves and their country, not for strangers and
“ foreigners, they fought. That height of glory was
“ reserved for the Romans.”

Such were the reflections the Greeks made on the present state of affairs; and the effects soon answered the glorious proclamation made at the Isthmian games; for the commissioners separated, to go and put their decree in execution in all the cities.

Flamininus being returned from Argos, was appointed president of the Nemean games. He discharged perfectly well all the duties of that employment, and used his utmost endeavours to add to the pomp and magnificence of the festival; and he also published by a herald at these games, as he had done at all the rest, the liberty of Greece.

As he visited the several cities, he established good ordinances in them, reformed laws, restored amity and concord between the citizens, by appeasing quarrels and seditions, and recalling the exiles; infinitely more pleased with being able by the means of persuasion to reconcile the Greeks, and to re-establish unity amongst them, than he had been in conquering the Macedonians; so that liberty seemed the least of the blessings they had received from him. And indeed, of what service would liberty have been to the Greeks, had not justice and concord been restored among them? What an example is here for governors of provinces? How happy are the people under magistrates of this character!

It is related that Xenocrates the philosopher, having been delivered at Athens, by Lycurgus the orator, out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were dragging him to prison, in order to make him pay a sum which foreigners were obliged by law to pay into the publick treasury, and meeting soon after the sons of his deliverer, he said to them, *I repay with usury the kindness your father did me; for I am the cause that all mankind praise him.* But the gratitude which the Greeks showed Flamininus and the Romans, did not terminate merely in praising, but was also of infinite service to the augmentation of their power, by inducing all nations to confide in them, and rely on the faith of their engagements. For they not only received such generals as the Romans sent them, but requested earnestly that they might be sent; they called them in, and put themselves into their hands with joy. And not only nations and cities, but princes and kings, who had complaints to offer against the injustice of neighbouring powers, had recourse to them, and put themselves in a manner under their safeguard; so that, in a short time, from an effect of the divine protection, (to use * Plutarch's expression) the whole earth submitted to their empire.

Cornelius, one of the commissioners who had dispersed themselves up and down, came to the assembly of the Greeks which was held at † Thermæ, a city of Ætolia. He there made a long speech, to exhort the Ætolians to continue firmly attached to the party for whom they had declared; and never to infringe the alliance they had made with the Romans. Some of the principal Ætolians complained, but with modesty, that the Romans, from the victory they had obtained, did not shew so much favour as before to their nation. Others reproached him, but in harsh and injurious terms, that had it not been for the Ætolians, the Romans would neither have conquered Philip, nor have been

* Οὕτῳ συνεπαπλομένην.

this place: ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἰεγεμίων οὐκίδον.

† According to Livy, it was at Thermopylæ. It is doubted whether this is said of an assembly of Ætolians in the city of Thermæ, which is be has translated justly Polybius in in Ætolia.

been able to set foot in Greece. Cornelius, to prevent all disputes and contests, which are always of pernicious consequence, was so prudent as only to refer them to the senate, assuring them, that all possible justice would be done them. Accordingly they came to that resolution; and thus ended the war against Philip.

SECT. IV. *Complaints being made, and suspicions arising concerning ANTIOCHUS, the Romans send an embassy to him, which has no other effect, but to dispose both parties for an open rupture. A conspiracy is formed by SCOPAS the Ætolian against PTOLEMY. He and his accomplices are put to death. HANNIBAL retires to ANTIOCHUS. War of FLAMININUS against NABIS, whom he besieges in Sparta; he obliges him to sue for peace, and grants it him. He enters Rome in triumph.*

THE war of Macedonia had ended very fortunately for the Romans, who otherwise would have been invaded by two powerful enemies at the same time, Philip and Antiochus: For it is evident, that the Romans would soon be obliged to proclaim war against the king of Syria, who enlarged his conquests daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to cross over into Europe.

(1) After having established good order in Cœlo-syria and Palestine, by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and possessed himself of several cities of Asia minor, and among those of Ephesus, he took the most proper measures for the success of his designs; and to give him the possession of all those kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his ancestors.

Smyrna, Lampsacus, and the other Grecian cities of Asia who enjoyed their liberty at that time, seeing plainly that he intended to bring them under subjection, resolved to defend themselves. But being unable

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(1) Liv. l. xxxiii. n. 38---41. Polyb. l. xvii. p. 769, 770. Appian. de bellis Syr. p. 85---88.

able to resist so powerful an enemy, they implored the Romans for protection, which was soon granted. The Romans saw plainly, that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus towards the West; and how fatal the consequence would be, should they suffer him to extend his power by settling on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down. The Romans were therefore very glad of the opportunity those free cities gave them, of opposing it; and immediately sent an embassy to him.

Before the ambassadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already sent off detachments from his army, which had formed the sieges of Smyrna and Lampascus. That prince had passed the Hellespont in person with the rest of it, and possessed himself of all the Thracian Chersonesus. Finding the city of * Lysimachia all in ruins, (the Thracians having demolished it a few years before) he began to rebuild it, with the design of founding a kingdom there for Seleucus his second son; to make all the country round it his dominions, and this city the capital of a new kingdom.

At the very time that he was revolving all these new projects, the Roman ambassadors arrived in Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country, and were attended with deputies from the Grecian cities in Asia. In the first conferences, the whole passed in civilities, which appeared sincere; but when they proceeded to business, the face of affairs was soon changed. L. Cornelius, who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore to Ptolemy the several cities in Asia, which he had taken from him; that he should evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip; it not being just that he should reap the fruits of the war, which the Romans had carried on against that prince; and that he should not molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly surprized at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with two such numerous armies,
and

* This city stood on the isthmus or neck of the peninsula.

and so powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lyfimachia, an undertaking which could have no other view but to invade them.

To all this Antiochus answered, that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction, when his marriage, which was already concluded, should be solemnized. That with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to receive it. With respect to Lyfimachia, he declared, that he rebuilt it, with the design of making it the residence of Seleucus his son; that Thrace, and the Chersonesus, which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered from Lyfimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors; and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Asia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he desired them to interfere no further in the affairs of Asia than he did with those of Italy.

The Romans desiring that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Lampfacus might be called in, they accordingly were admitted. These spoke with so much freedom, as incensed Antiochus to that degree, that he cried in a passion, that the Romans had no business to judge of those affairs. Upon this, the assembly broke up in great disorder; none of the parties received satisfaction, and the whole seemed to make a rupture inevitable.

During these negotiations, a report was spread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himself master of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his fleet, in order to go and take possession of it. He left his son Seleucus at Lyfimachia with the army, to complete the projects he had formed with regard to those parts. He first went to Ephesus, where he caused all his ships in that port to join his fleet, in order to sail as soon as possible for Egypt. Arriving at Patara in Lycia, certain advice was brought, that the report which was spread concerning
Ptolemy's

Ptolemy's death was false. For this reason he changed his course, and made for the island of Cyprus, in order to seize it; but a storm that arose sunk many of his ships, destroyed a great number of his men, and broke all his measures. He thought himself very happy, in having an opportunity of entering the harbour of Seleucia with his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered in Antiochia, without making any new attempt that year.

(*m*) The foundation of the rumour which was spread of Ptolemy's death, was from a conspiracy's having been really formed against his life. This plot was contrived by Scopas. That general seeing himself at the head of all the foreign troops, the greatest part of which were Ætolians, (his countrymen) imagined that with so formidable a body of well-disciplined veteran forces, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let slip the opportunity, by consulting and debating with his friends, instead of acting, he would certainly have succeeded. Aristomenes, the prime minister, being apprized of the conspiracy, laid Scopas under an arrest; after which, he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed with all his accomplices. This plot made the government confide no longer in the Ætolians, who, till then, had been in great esteem for their fidelity; most of them were removed from their employments, and sent into their own country. After Scopas's death, immense treasures were found in his coffers, which he had amassed, by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the course of his victories in Palestine, had subjected Judæa and Jerusalem to the Egyptian empire, the greatest part of his treasures arose, no doubt, from thence. The transition from avarice to perfidy and treason is often very short; and the fidelity of that general, who discovers a passion for riches, cannot be safely relied on.

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One of Scopas's principal accomplices was Dicæarchus, who formerly had been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A very strange action is related of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the islands called Cyclades, in open violation of the most solemn treaties; before he came out of the harbour, he set up two altars, one to injustice, and the other to impiety; and offered sacrifices on both, to insult, as one would imagine, at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so greatly distinguished himself by his crimes, Aristomenes distinguished him also from the rest of the conspirators in his execution. He dispatched all the others by poison, but as for Dicæarchus, he caused him to die in exquisite torments.

The contrivers of the conspiracy being put to death, and all their measures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age, though he had not yet quite attained the years appointed by the laws, and was set upon the throne with great pomp and solemnity. He thereby took the government upon himself, and accordingly began to transact business. As long as Aristomenes administered under him, all things went well: But when he conceived disgust for that faithful and able minister, and not long after put him to death, (to rid himself of a man whose virtue was offensive to him) the remainder of his reign was one continued series of disorder and confusion. His subjects laboured now under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was most triumphant.

(n) When the ten commissioners, who were sent to settle the affairs of Philip, were returned to Rome, and made their report, they told the senate, that they must expect and prepare for a new war, which would be still more dangerous than that they had just before terminated: That Antiochus had crossed into Europe with a strong army, and a considerable fleet; that upon a false report which had been spread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had set out, in order to possess himself

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himself

himself of Egypt, and that otherwise he would have made Greece the seat of the war: That the Ætolians, a people naturally restless and turbulent, and disgusted with Rome, would certainly rise on that occasion: That Greece fostered in its own bosom a tyrant (Nabis) more avaricious and cruel than any of his predecessors, who was meditating how to enslave it; and therefore, having been restored in vain to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its sovereign, and would fall under a more grievous captivity than before, especially if Nabis should continue in possession of the city of Argos.

Flamininus was commanded to have an eye on Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all Antiochus's steps. He had just before left Antiochia, in the beginning of the spring, in order to go to Ephesus; and had scarce left it, when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmolested in Carthage, during six years, from the conclusion of the peace with the Romans: But he was now suspected of holding a secret correspondence with Antiochus, and of forming with him the design of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies sent advice of this secretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embassy to Carthage, for more particular information in the fact; with orders, in case the proofs should be manifest, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general * had too much penetration and foresight, and had been too long accustomed to prepare for storms, even in the greatest calms, not to suspect their design; so that before they had an opportunity to execute their commission, he withdrew privately, got to the coast, and went on board a ship which always lay ready by his order against such an occasion. He escaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where

*. Sed res Annibalem non diu minùs in secundis adversa, quàm latuit, virum ad prospicienda ca- in adversis secunda cogitantem. vendaque pericula peritura; nec *Iustin.*

where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Ephesus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was meditating in suspense whether he should engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great satisfaction. He did not doubt, but with the counsel and assistance of a man who had so often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby justly acquired the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to complete all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests: Accordingly, war was resolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations. Nevertheless, during that time, embassies were sent on both sides, upon pretext of an accommodation; but, in reality, to gain time, and see what the enemy were doing.

(o) With regard to Greece, all the states, except the Ætolians, whose secret discontent, I observed before, enjoyed the sweets of liberty and peace, and in that condition admired no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the state of things, when Quintius received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war against Nabis. Upon this, he convenes the confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cause of their meeting, “ You perceive,” says he, “ that the subject of the present deliberation solely regards you. Our business is to determine, whether Argos, an ancient and most illustrious city, situated in the midst of Greece, shall enjoy its liberty in common with the rest of the cities; or, whether it shall continue subject to the tyrant of Sparta, who has seized it. This affair concerns the Romans only, as the slavery of a single city would bereave them of the glory of having entirely delivered Greece. Consider there-

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“ fore what is to be done, and your resolutions shall determine my conduct.”

The assembly were not divided in their opinion, except the Ætolians, who could not forbear showing their resentment against the Romans, which they carried so high, as to charge them with breach of faith in keeping possession of Chalcis and Demetrias, at a time that they boasted their having entirely restored the liberty of Greece. They inveighed no less against the rest of the allies, who desired to be secured from the rapine of the Ætolians, who (according to them) were Greeks only in name, but its real enemies in their hearts. The dispute growing warm, Quintius obliged them to debate only on the subject before them; upon which it was unanimously resolved, that war should be declared against Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, in case he should refuse to restore Argos to its former liberty; and every one promised to send a speedy succour; which was faithfully performed. Aristhenes, general of the Achæans, joined Quintius near Cleone, with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse.

Philip sent fifteen hundred men, as his quota, and the Thessalians four hundred horse. Quintius's brother arrived also with a fleet of forty gallies, to which the Rhodians and king Eumenes joined theirs. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta justly belonged. When but an infant, he had been expelled by Lycurgus, the tyrant, after the death of Cleomenes.

The allies designed at first to besiege Argos, but Quintius thought it more adviseable to march directly against the tyrant. He had greatly strengthened the fortifications of Sparta; and had sent for a thousand chosen soldiers from Crete, whom he joined to the other thousand he had already among his forces. He had three thousand other foreign troops in his service; and,

and, besides these, ten thousand natives of the country, exclusively of the Helots.

At the same time he also concerted measures to secure himself from domestick troubles. Having caused the people to come unarmed to the assembly, and posting armed soldiers round them; after some little preamble, he declared, that as the present juncture of affairs obliged him to take some precautions for his own safety, he therefore was determined to imprison a certain number of citizens, whom he had just cause to suspect; and that the instant the enemy should be repulsed, (whom, he said, he had no reason to fear, provided things were quiet at home) he would release those prisoners. He then named about eighty youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a strong prison, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He also put to death in the villages a great number of the Helots, who were suspected of a design to desert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity spread universal terror, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly resolved not to quit the city during the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle against troops much superior in number to his own.

Quintius having advanced to the Eurotas, which runs almost under the walls of the city, whilst he was forming his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops against him. As the Romans did not expect such a sally, because they had not been opposed at all upon their march, they were at first put into some disorder; but soon recovering themselves, they repulsed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, Quintius leading his troops, in order of battle, near the river on the other side of the city; when the rear-guard had passed, Nabis caused his foreign troops to attack it. The Romans instantly faced about, and the charge was very rude on both sides; but at last, the foreigners were broke and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the country, pursued them every where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius

encamped near Amyclæ; and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round the city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas; and from thence ruined the vallies, at the foot of mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the sea.

At the same time, the proconsul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid siege to Gythium, at that time a strong and very important city. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very seasonably; for the besieged defended themselves with great courage: However, after making a long and vigorous resistance, they surrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city; and therefore sent a herald to Quintius, to demand an interview, which was granted. Besides several other arguments in his own favour, on which Nabis laid great stress, he insisted strongly on the late alliance which the Romans, and Quintius himself, had concluded with him in the war against Philip: An alliance, on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans professed themselves faithful and religious observers of treaties, which they boasted their having never violated. That nothing had been changed, on his part, since the treaty: That he was then what he had always been; and had never given the Romans any new occasion for complaints or reproaches. These arguments were very just; and, to say the truth, Quintius had no solid reasons to oppose to them. Accordingly, in his answer he only expatiated in random complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty, and tyranny: But, was he less covetous, cruel and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty? Nothing was concluded in this first interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, since the Romans required it; as also, to give them up their prisoners and deserters. He desired Quintius, in case he had any other demands, to put them into writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends; to which Quintius consented. The Roman general also held a council with

his allies. Most of them were of opinion, that they should continue the war against Nabis, which could only terminate gloriously, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at least his tyranny; for that otherwise, nobody could be assured that the liberty of Greece was restored. That if the Romans made any kind of treaty with Nabis, that would be acknowledging him in a solemn manner, and giving a sanction to his usurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, because he was afraid that the Spartans would sustain a long siege, during which the war with Antiochus might break out on a sudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces against him. These were his pretended motives for desiring an accommodation; but the true reason was, his being apprehensive that a new consul would be appointed to succeed him in Greece, and by that means deprive him of the glory of having terminated this war; a motive which commonly influenced the resolutions of the Roman generals, more than the good of the publick.

Finding that none of his reasons could make the least impression on the allies, he put on the appearance of giving into their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. “ Let us besiege Sparta,” says he, “ since you think it proper, and exert ourselves to the utmost for the success of our enterprize. As you are sensible that sieges often spin out to a greater length than is generally desired, let us resolve to take up our winter-quarters here, since it must be so: This is a resolution worthy of your courage. I have a sufficient number of troops for carrying on this siege; but the more numerous they are, the greater supply of provisions and convoys will be necessary. The winter that is coming on, exhibits nothing to us but a naked, ruined country, from which we can have no forage. You see the great extent of this city, and consequently the great number of catapultæ, battering-rams, and other machines of all kinds that will be wanting. Write each of you to your cities, in order

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“ that

“ that they may furnish you speedily, in an abundant
 “ manner, with all things necessary for us. We are
 “ obliged in honour to carry on this siege vigorously;
 “ and it would be shameful for us, after having be-
 “ gun it, to be reduced to abandon our enterprize.”

Every one then making his own reflections, perceived a great many difficulties he had not foreseen; and was fully sensible, that the proposal they were to make to their cities would meet with a very ill reception, as particulars in consequence would be obliged to contribute, out of their own purses, to the expence of the war. Changing therefore immediately their resolutions, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he should think proper, for the good of his republick, and the interests of the allies.

Upon which Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed, in concert with them, on the conditions of peace to be offered the tyrant. The chief were: That, within ten days, Nabis should evacuate Argos, and all the rest of the cities of Argolis, garrisoned by his troops: That he should restore to the maritime cities all the gallies he had taken from them; and that he himself should keep only two feluccas, with sixteen oars each: That he should surrender up to the cities in alliance with the Romans, all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves: That he should also restore to the Lacedæmonian exiles, such of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, but however without forcing them to do so: That he should give five hostages, to be chosen by the Roman general, of which his son should be one: That he should pay down an * hundred talents of silver, and afterwards fifty talents annually, during eight years. A truce was granted for six months, that all parties might have time to send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

The tyrant was not satisfied with any of these articles; but he was surprized, and thought him-
 self

* An hundred thousand crowns.

self happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raised a general sedition, from the necessity to which he reduced private persons, of restoring many things they were not willing to be deprived of. Thus, no farther mention was made of peace, and the war began again.

Quintius was now resolved to carry on the siege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls; disdaining every other kind of fortification but the bravery of its citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta, only since the tyrants governed it; and that but in places which lay open, and were easy of access: All the other parts were defended only by their natural situation, and by bodies of troops posted in them. As Quintius's army was very numerous (consisting of above fifty thousand men, because he had sent for all the land, as well as naval forces) he resolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it on all sides, in order to strike the inhabitants with terror, and render them incapable of knowing on which side to turn themselves. Accordingly, the city being attacked on all sides at the same instant, and the danger being every where equal, the tyrant did not know how to act, either in giving orders, or in sending succours, which quite distracted him.

The Lacedæmonians sustained the attacks of the besiegers, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, because, pressing on one another, they could not stand firm on their feet, and had not their arms at liberty to discharge them with strength. The Romans drawing near the city, found themselves on a sudden overwhelmed with stones and tiles, thrown at them from the house-tops. However, laying their shields over their heads, they came forward in the
form

form of the *testudo* or tortoise, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles: The Romans advanced into the broader streets, when the Lacedæmonians, being no longer able to sustain their efforts, nor make head against them, fled to the most craggy and rugged eminences. Nabis, imagining the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his escape. But one of his chief commanders saved the city, by setting fire to such edifices as were near the wall. The houses were soon in flames; the fire spread on all sides; and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy. Such as were without the city, and attacked the wall, were forced to move at a distance from it; and those who were got into the city, fearing that the spreading of the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintius then caused a retreat to be sounded; and after having almost taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days he took advantage of the terror with which he had filled the inhabitants, sometimes by making new attacks, and at other times, by stopping up different places with works; in order that the besieged might have no opportunity to escape, but be lost to all hopes. Nabis, seeing things desperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Roman general refused at first to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp. But the petitioner, throwing himself at his feet, after many intreaties, at last obtained a truce upon the same conditions as had been prescribed before. Accordingly the money was paid, and the hostages delivered to Quintius.

Whilst these things were doing, the Argives, who, from the repeated advices they had, imagined that Lacedæmonia was taken; restored themselves to liberty, by driving out their garrison. Quintius, after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians, and his brother (who returned to their respective

tive fleets) repaired to Argos, whose inhabitants he found in incredible transports of joy. The Nemæan games, which could not be celebrated at the usual time, because of the war, had been put off till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of it, and distributed the prizes in it, or rather, he himself was the show. The Argives, especially, could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely in their defence, had freed them from a cruel and ignominious slavery, and restored them to their ancient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleased to see the city of Argos again in alliance with them, and restored to all their privileges: But Sparta being still enslaved, and a tyrant suffered in the midst of Greece, allayed their joy, and rendered it less perfect.

With regard to the Ætolians, it may be affirmed, that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From that shameful and inglorious treaty, (for so they called it) they exclaimed in all places against the Romans. They observed, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms, till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece. That here, on the contrary, the usurper was maintained in the peaceable possession of Sparta; whilst that the lawful king (meaning Agesipolis) who had served under the proconsul, and so many illustrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to pass the remainder of their days in banishment. In a word, that the Romans had made themselves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The Ætolians, in these complaints, confined their views solely to the advantages of liberty: But in great affairs, men should have an eye to all things, should content themselves with what they can execute with success, and not attempt a thousand schemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintius, as he himself will show hereafter.

Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had set out to carry on the war with Sparta. He spent the whole winter in administering justice to the

the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in regulating the government, and establishing order in all places; things which, properly speaking, are the real fruits of peace, the most glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war's being undertaken on just and reasonable motives. The ambassadors of Nabis being arrived at Rome, demanded and obtained the ratification of the treaty.

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In the beginning of the spring, Quintius went to Corinth, where he had convened a general assembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he represented to them, the joy and ardour with which the Romans had complied with the intreaties of the Greeks when they implored their succour; and had made an alliance with them, which he hoped neither side would have occasion to repent. He gave an account, in few words, of the actions and enterprizes of the Roman generals his predecessors; and mentioned his own with a modesty of expression that heightened their merit. He was heard with universal applause, except when he began to speak of Nabis; on which occasion, the assembly, by a modest murmur, discovered their grief and surprize, that the deliverer of Greece should have left, in so renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant, not only insupportable to his own country, but formidable to all the rest of the cities.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the disposition of people's minds with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in few words. He confessed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have been done without hazarding the entire destruction of Sparta. But, as there was reason to fear, that this considerable city would be involved in the same ruin with Nabis, he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weak and abandoned as he was, than perhaps to run the hazard, should they employ too violent remedies, of destroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

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He added to what he had said of past transactions, that he was preparing to set out for Italy, and to send the whole army thither. That before ten days should be at an end, they should hear that the garrisons of Demetrias and Chalcis were evacuated, and that he would surrender to the Achæans the citadel of Corinth. That this would show, whether the Romans or Ætoli-ans were most worthy of belief: Whether the latter had the least foundation for the report they spread uni-versally, that nothing could be of more dangerous consequence to a people, than to trust the Romans with their liberties; and that they only shifted the yoke, in accepting that republick for their master in-stead of the Macedonians. He concluded with say-ing, that it was well known the Ætoli-ans were not over prudent and discreet either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words but actions; to be cautious whom they trusted, and against whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to use their liberty with moderation; that with this wise precaution, it was of the highest advantage to particular persons as well as to cities; but that with-out moderation, it became a burden to others, and even pernicious to those who abused it. That the chief men in cities, the different orders that compose them, and the citizens themselves in general, should endeavour to preserve a perfect harmony: That so long as they should be united, neither kings nor ty-rants would be able to distress them; that discord and sedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, because the party which finds itself weakest within, seeks for support without; and chuses rather to call in a foreign power to its aid, than submit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded his speech with con-juring them, in the mildest and most gentle terms, to preserve and maintain, by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms; and to make the Romans sensible, that in restoring them to their freedom,

freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to persons unworthy of it.

This counsel was received as from a father to his children. Whilst he spoke in this manner, the whole assembly wept for joy, and Quintius himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of all that were present. They gazed upon one another with admiration; and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive, with gratitude and respect, the words of the Roman general, as so many oracles, and preserve the remembrance of them in their hearts for ever.

After this, Quintius causing silence to be made, desired that they would enquire strictly after such Roman citizens as were in slavery in Greece, and send them to him in Thessaly in two months; adding, that it would ill become them to leave those in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the highest applauses, and thanked Quintius in particular, for hinting to them so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very considerable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punick war; but the Romans refusing to redeem them, they had been sold. It cost only the Achæans an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thousand crowns, to reimburse the masters the price they had paid for the slaves, at the rate of about * twelve pounds ten shillings an head; consequently the number here amounted to twelve hundred. The reader may form a judgment, in proportion, of all the rest of Greece. Before the assembly broke up, the garrison was seen marching down from the citadel, and afterwards out of the city. Quintius followed it soon after, and withdrew in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who called him their saviour and deliverer, and implored heaven to bestow all possible blessings upon him.

He withdrew in the same manner the garrisons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received in those cities

* Five hundred denarii.

cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Theffaly, where he found all things in the utmost disorder and confusion.

At last he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome entered it in triumph. The ceremony lasted three days, during which he exhibited to the people (amidst the other pomp) the precious spoils he had taken in the wars against Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, son of the former, and Armenes, of the latter, were among the hostages, and graced the victor's triumph. But the noblest ornament of it was, the Roman citizens delivered from slavery, who followed the victor's car, with their heads shaved, as a mark of the liberty to which they had been restored.

SECT. V. *Universal preparations for the war between ANTIOCHUS and the Romans. Mutual embassies and interviews on both sides, which come to nothing. The Romans send troops against NABIS, who had infringed the treaty. PHILOPOEMEN gains another victory over him. The Ætolians implore the assistance of ANTIOCHUS. NABIS is killed. ANTIOCHUS goes at last to Greece.*

(a) **A**NTIOCHUS and the Romans were preparing for war. Ambassadors were arrived at Rome, in the name of all the Greeks, from a great part of Asia minor, and from several kings. They were favourably received by the senate; but as the affair of king Antiochus required a long examination, it was referred to Quintius and the commissioners who were returned from Asia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both sides. The ambassadors of the king were surprized, as their sovereign had sent them merely to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans, that the latter should pretend to prescribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch; and nominate those cities which he might keep, and such as he was to abandon. Quintius, in concert with his colleagues, after a great many speeches and

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and replies, declared to the king's ambassadors, that the Romans persisted in the resolution they had taken, to deliver the Grecian cities of Asia, as they had done those of Europe; and should see whether Antiochus would approve of that condition. They answered, that they could not enter into any engagement that tended to lessen the dominions of their sovereign. On the morrow, all the rest of the ambassadors were again introduced into the senate. Quintius reported what had been spoke and transacted in the conference; and intreated each of them in particular, to inform their respective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend their liberties against Antiochus, with the same ardour and courage as they had done against Philip. Antiochus's ambassadors conjured the senate, not to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance; to allow the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and consider things maturely on their side, before they passed a decree, in which the publick tranquillity would be involved. They did not yet come to a decision, but deputed to the king Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius, the same ambassadors who had already conferred with him at Lyfimachia.

Scarce were they gone, but ambassadors from Carthage arrived at Rome, and acquainted the senate, that Antiochus, at the instigation of Hannibal, was certainly preparing to carry on the war against the Romans. I have observed before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and was arrived at his court at the very instant the king was deliberating whether he should embark in this war. The presence and counsels of such a general, contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time (and he always persisted in it) was, that he ought to carry his arms into Italy. That by this means the enemy's country would furnish them with troops and provisions; that otherwise, no prince nor people could be superior to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy. He demanded but an hundred gallies, ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. He

declared,

declared, that with this fleet he would first go into Africa, where he was persuaded the Carthaginians would join him; but that, should he not succeed in the latter, he would sail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to distress the Romans; that it was necessary that the king should go over into Europe with the rest of his forces, and halt in some part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he should always seem upon the point of doing it.

The king approving this project at first, Hannibal sent a Tyrian, in whom he could confide, to Carthage, to sound the citizens; for he did not care to venture letters, lest they should be intercepted; not to mention that business is transacted much better by word of mouth than by writing. But the Tyrian was discovered, and escaped with great difficulty. The Carthaginian senate sent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the same time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

(b) No people, at this time, hated the Romans more than the Ætolians. Thoas, their general, was for ever incensing them; representing, in the most aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them from their last victory, though chiefly owing to them. His remonstrance had the intended effect; and Damocritus was sent ambassador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicæarchus, Thoas's brother, to Antiochus, charged with particular instructions in regard to each of those princes.

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The first represented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by dispossessing him of his maritime towns, as they furnished him with galleys, soldiers, and sailors: That, confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to see the Achæans reign over Peloponnesus: That he would never have so favourable an opportunity for recovering his ancient power, as that which then presented itself: That the Romans had no army in Greece: That he might easily seize upon Gythium,

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which was situated very commodiously for him: And, that the Romans would not think it worth while to send their legions again into Greece, to take a city of so little consequence.

Nicander employed still stronger motives to rouse Philip, who had been thrown down from a much superior height of greatness, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant. Besides which, he enlarged on the ancient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and in what manner the whole world had been subdued by their arms: That the proposal he made him would not expose him to any danger: That he did not desire him to declare war, till Antiochus should have passed into Greece with his army; and that if he (Philip) unassisted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, sustained so long a war against the Romans and the Ætolians united, how would it be possible for the Romans to resist him, when he should have concluded an alliance with Antiochus and the Ætolians? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the sworn enemy to the Romans, of whose generals more had been defeated by him, than were living at that time.

Dicæarchus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He observed particularly, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had taken the spoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the Ætolians: That they alone had opened them an entrance into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horse and foot with which they would furnish him; and the strong towns and sea-ports possessed by them. He did not scruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him against the Romans.

These are the steps the Ætolians took, to raise up enemies against Rome on every side. However, the two kings did not comply with them at that time; and did not take their resolution till afterwards.

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With regard to Nabis, he sent immediately to all the maritime towns, to excite the inhabitants of them to a rebellion. He bribed many of the principal citizens, and dispatched those who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintius, at his leaving Greece, had ordered the Achæans to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately sent deputies to the tyrant, to put him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Romans; and to exhort him not to infringe a peace he had solicited so much. At the same time they sent troops to Gythium, which the tyrant had already besieged; and ambassadors to Rome, to inform the senate and people of what was doing.

(c) Antiochus did not yet declare himself openly, but took secret measures for promoting the great design he meditated. He thought it advisable to strengthen himself by good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Palestine towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes; and resigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, but upon condition, as had been before stipulated, that he should retain but half the revenues.

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter, Antiochis by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have bestowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refused her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance with so great a monarch would be a great support to their house. However, Eumenes soon convinced them, by the reasons he gave, that he had examined that affair more deliberately than they. He represented, that should he marry Antiochus's daughter, he would be under a necessity of espousing his interest against the Romans, with whom he plainly saw this

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(c) Polyb. l. iii. p. 167. Liv. l. xxxv. n. 13---20. Appian. in Syriac. p. 88---92. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

monarch would soon be at variance; that, should the Romans get the better (as it was highly probable they would) he should be involved in the same ruin with the vanquished king, which would infallibly prove his destruction: That on the other side, should Antiochus have the advantage in this war, the only benefit that he (Eumenes) could reap by it, would be, that having the honour to be his son-in-law, he should be one of the first to become his slave. For they might be assured, that should Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would subject all Asia, and oblige all princes to do him homage: That they should have much better terms from the Romans; and therefore he was resolved to continue attached to their interests: The event shewed that Eumenes was not mistaken.

After these marriages, Antiochus went with great diligence into Asia minor, and arrived at Ephesus in the depth of winter. He set out from thence again in the beginning of the spring to punish the Pisidians, who were inclined to revolt; after having sent his son into Syria, for the security of the provinces in the East.

I have said above, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embassy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go first to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them, that he desired nothing so much as a war with Antiochus. In times of peace, the having so powerful a king in his neighbourhood, gave him very just alarm. In case of a war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the same fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined; or, should the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes assured himself that part of his spoils and fortresses would be given him, which would enable him to defend himself, without any foreign aid, against his attacks: That, after all, should things take a different turn, he had rather run the worst hazard, in concert with the Romans,
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than be exposed, by breaking with them, to submit, either voluntarily, or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left sick in Pergamus, Villius, who received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Pisidia, went to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had several conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade him, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans. He had better success in the design he proposed in that conduct, which was by treating Hannibal with great courtesy, and making him frequent visits, to render him suspected to the king; which accordingly happened, as we shall soon see.

Livy, on the authority of some historians, relates that Scipio was on this embassy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made him the celebrated answer I have related * elsewhere, when, speaking of the most illustrious generals, he gave the first place to Alexander, the second to Pyrrhus, and the third to himself. Some authors look upon this embassy of Scipio as improbable, and the answer of Hannibal to be more so.

Villius went from Ephesus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired, after having ended the war against the Pisidians. In their interview, they spoke on much the same topics, as those on which the king's ambassadors had debated with Quintius in Rome. Their conferences broke off, on that prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus his eldest son. He returned to Ephesus to lament his loss. But notwithstanding these fine appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his shew of grief was merely political; and that he himself had sacrificed him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greatest hopes, and had already given such shining proofs of wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, that he was the darling of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king, growing jealous of him, had sent him from Ephesus into Syria, under the pre-

text of having an eye to the security of the provinces of the East; and that he had caused some eunuchs to poison him there, to rid himself of his fears. A king, and at the same time a father, ought not to be suspected of so horrid a crime, without the strongest and most evident proofs.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and sorrow, was returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered. The king sent for them soon after. They had a conference with his minister, which ended in complaints on both sides; after which they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing.

The instant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the present affairs; in which every one exclaimed against the Romans, knowing that to be the best method of making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtiness of their demands, and said it was strange, that they should attempt to prescribe laws to the greatest monarch of Asia, as if they were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had a great ascendant over the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not whether they should make war, but how, and in what manner they should carry it on; assured the king, that he would be infallibly victorious, in case he should cross into Europe, and settle in some part of Greece: That the Ætolians, who were in the center of it, would be the first to declare against the Romans: That at the two extremities of this country, Nabis, on one side, to recover what he had lost, would raise all Peloponnesus against them; and that, on the other, Philip, who was still more disgusted, would not fail, at the first signal of war, to take up arms also: That they had no time to lose; and, that the decisive point was, to seize upon the most advantageous posts, and to make sure of allies. He added, that Hannibal ought to be sent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

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Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered suspected to the king, was not summoned to this council. He had perceived on several other occasions, that the king's friendship for him was very much cooled, and that he no longer reposed the same confidence in him. However, he had a private conference with him, in which he unboomed himself without the least disguise. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had sworn on the altars to be the eternal enemy of the Romans, "It is this oath," says he, "it is this hatred, that prompted me to keep the sword drawn during thirty-six years; it was the same animosity that occasioned my being banished from my country in a time of peace, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. If you defeat my hopes, guided by the same hatred, which can never expire but with my life, I will fly to every part of the world where there are soldiers and arms, to raise up enemies against the Romans. I hate them, and am hated by them. As long as you shall resolve to make war against them, you may consider Hannibal as the first of your friends: But if there are any motives which incline you to peace, take counsel of others, not of me." Antiochus, struck with these words, seemed to restore him his confidence and friendship.

The ambassadors being returned to Rome, it appeared evidently from their report, that a war with Antiochus was inevitable; but they did not think it yet time to proclaim it against him. They did not act so cautiously with regard to Nabis, who had been the first to violate the treaty, and was then actually besieging Gythium, and laying waste the territories of the Achæans. Acilius, the prætor, was sent with a fleet into Greece, to protect the allies.

(d) Philopœmen was general of the Achæans that year. He was not inferior to any captain with respect to land service, but had no skill in naval affairs. Notwithstanding this, he took upon himself the command

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(d) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 25---30, Plut. in Philop. p. 363, 364.

of the Achæan fleet *, and imagined that he should be as successful by sea as he had been by land: But he learnt, to his cost, not to depend so much upon his own judgment, and found how greatly useful experience is on all occasions; for Nabis, who had fitted out some vessels with expedition, defeated Philopœmen, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This disaster however did not discourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumspect for the future. Such is the use judicious men ought to make of their errors, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greatest successes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopœmen resolved, if possible, to make his joy of short duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having surprized him when he least expected him, he set fire to his camp, and made a great slaughter of his troops. In the mean time Gythium surrendered, which very much augmented the pride and haughtiness of the tyrant.

Philopœmen saw plainly that it was necessary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent, and no general equalled him in drawing up his army, in making choice of the posts, in taking all advantages, and improving all the errors of an enemy. On this occasion, fired by jealousy, and animated with revenge against Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the first attack, the auxiliary forces of Nabis, which formed his greatest strength, broke the Achæans, threw them into disorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philopœmen's order that they fled, to draw the enemy into ambuscades he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell into them; and, whilst they were shouting as victorious, those who fled faced

about; * *The great prince of Condé thought and spoke much more wisely. In a conversation upon a sea-fight, the prince said, he should be very glad to see one, purely for his own instruction. A sea-officer, who was present, replied, Sir, were your highness in a sea-fight, there is no admiral but would be proud of obeying your orders. My orders! interrupted the prince; I should not presume even to give my advice; but should stand quietly on the deck, and observe all the motions and operations of the battle, for my own instruction.*

about; and the Achæans charged them on a sudden from their ambuscades, and made a great slaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in from the rivulets and morasses (with which it abounded) the general would not suffer his troops to abandon themselves to their ardour, in pursuing the enemy; but causing a retreat to be sounded, he encamped on that very spot, though long before it was dark. As he was fully persuaded, that as soon as it should be night, the enemy would return from their flight, and retire towards the city in small parties, he posted ambuscades in all the passes round, on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great numbers of them; so that Nabis hardly saved a fourth of his army. Philopœmen having blocked him up in Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and, after having considerably weakened the forces of the tyrant, he returned home, laden with spoils and glory.

This victory did Philopœmen great honour, because it was manifestly owing solely to his prudence and ability. A circumstance is related of him, which is perhaps peculiar to him; and which young officers should propose to themselves as a model. Whenever he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or war, and came to any difficult pass, he halted, and asked himself (in case he were alone) or else enquired of those who were with him, in what manner it would be necessary to act, in case the enemy should come suddenly upon them; if he charged them in front, flank, or rear; if he came on in order of battle; or in less order, as when an army is on its march; what post would it be proper for him to take? In what places to dispose his baggage, and how many troops would be necessary to guard it? Whether it would be convenient for him to march forward, or to return back the way he came? Where to pitch his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what method he could best secure his forage, and provide water? What rout he should take the next day, after he should decamp, and in what order it were best to march?

He

He had accustomed himself so early, and exercised himself so much in all these parts of the military knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and never was disconcerted by any unforeseen accident, but resolved and acted immediately as if he had foreseen every thing that happened. These things form the great captain: But the only method to be such, is to love one's profession, to think it an honour to improve it, to study it seriously, and to despise the common topicks of discourse of the indolent and insignificant part of an army, that have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

(e) During this expedition of the Achæans against Nabis, the Ætolians had sent ambassadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to cross into Greece. They not only promised to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him; but also assured him, that he might depend upon Philip king of Macedon, on Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and on several other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and would declare against them the moment of his arrival. Thoas, the first of the ambassadors, expatiated upon all these advantages in the strongest and most pompous terms. He observed to him, that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceless condition: That this would be the finest opportunity for him to possess himself of it; that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms; and that the instant he came among them, he would be master of the country. This soothing description of the state of the Grecian affairs, made so deep an impression on him, that he could scarce give himself time to deliberate in what manner it would be most proper for him to act.

The Romans, on the other side, who were not ignorant of the measures taken by the Ætolians to disengage their allies from their interest, and increase their enemies on all sides, had sent ambassadors into Greece, among whom was Quintius. At his arrival, he found all

all the nations very well disposed with regard to the Romans, except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was spread of their intending to restore to Philip his son, who had been given them as an hostage; and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magnesians. It was necessary to undeceive them, but in so dexterous a manner as not to disgust Philip, whom it was much more their interest to oblige. This Quintius effected with great address. The author of these false reports was Eurylochus, at that time chief magistrate. As he let drop some harsh and injurious expressions against the Romans, which gave Quintius an opportunity of reproaching the Magnesians with their ingratitude; Zeno, one of the oldest among them, directing himself to Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors with tears, conjured them not to impute to a whole people the rancour of one man, who (he said) ought only to be answerable for it. That the Magnesians were obliged to Quintius and the Romans, not only for their liberty, but for whatever else is most dear and valuable among men; that as for themselves, they would sooner part with their lives, than renounce the friendship of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole assembly applauded this speech; and Eurylochus perceiving plainly, that there was no longer any safety for him in the city, took refuge amongst the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, was returned from Antiochus's court, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had sent as his ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was convened, these two had endeavoured, in concert, to prepare and prepossess the people, by enlarging upon the king's forces by sea and land; his numerous bodies of horse and foot; the elephants he had caused to be brought from India; and above all (which was the strongest motive with regard to the populace) the immense

menſe treaſures which the king would bring with him, ſufficient to buy even the Romans themſelves.

Quintius had regular notice ſent him of whatever was ſaid or done in *Ætolia*. Though he looked upon all things as loſt on that ſide, yet, that he might have nothing to reproach himſelf with, and to lay the wrong ſtill more on the ſide of the *Ætolians*, he thought proper to depute to their aſſemblies ſome ambaffadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever Antiochus's ambaffador might advance. He gave this commiſſion to the Athenians; the dignity of their city, and their former alliance with the *Ætolians*, making them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the aſſembly, by acquainting it that an ambaffador was arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with ſaying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks, as well as *Aſiaticks*, had Antiochus concerned himſelf ſooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced; that then, every people would have preſerved their rights, and all had not been ſubjected to the Roman power. "But ſtill," ſays he, "if you execute the deſigns you have formed, Antiochus may, by the aſſiſtance of the gods and your aid, reſtore the affairs of Greece to their ancient ſplendor, how deſperate ſoever their condition may be."

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themſelves (without ſaying a word of the king) with putting the *Ætolians* in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the ſervice Quintius had done to all Greece; conjuring them not to form any raſh reſolution, in an affair of ſo much importance as that in queſtion: That bold reſolutions, taken with heat and vivacity, might have a pleaſing proſpect at firſt, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely ſucceſsful: That the Roman ambaffadors, among whom was Quintius, were
not

not far off: That as things were still undecided, it would show more wisdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their several claims and pretensions, than to involve precipitately Europe and Asia in a war, of which the consequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever greedy of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even against admitting the Romans into the assembly; so that the oldest and wisest among them were forced to employ all their credit, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintius came thither, not so much from any hopes he entertained, of being able to make the least impression on the minds of the people, as to prove to all mankind, that the Ætolians were the sole cause of the war which was going to break out; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it against their wills, and merely through necessity. He began, by recalling to their memories the time in which the Ætolians had concluded an alliance with the Romans: He made a transient mention of the many things by which they had infringed it; and after saying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of their quarrel, he only observed, that if they imagined themselves aggrieved, it would appear much more reasonable to make their remonstrances to the senate, who were always ready to hear their complaints; than out of mere wantonness to blow up a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would disturb the peace of the universe, and infallibly terminate in the ruin of those who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his representations, which however were disregarded at that time. Thoas, and those of his faction, were heard with great attention; and obtained without delay, and even in presence of the Romans, that a decree should be made, to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the Ætolians and Romans. Quintius desiring a copy of this decree,

cree, Damocritus (then in office) was so inconsiderate as to answer in the most insolent tone, that he had business of much greater consequence upon his hands at that time; but that he himself would soon carry this decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tyber: So violent and furious a spirit had seized all the Ætolians, and even their principal magistrates. Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors returned to Corinth.

(f) The Ætolian privy-council formed, in one day, three very astonishing resolutions, to seize by a treacherous stratagem Demetrius, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon; and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of these expeditions.

Diocles set out for Demetrius, where, being assisted by Eurilochus's faction, who was in exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himself master of the city.

But Thoas was not so successful in Chalcis, which he imagined he should be able to seize by the help of an exile: For the magistrates, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating against their city, put it in a good posture of defence, and enabled it to sustain a vigorous siege. Thus, Thoas failing in his design, returned back in the utmost confusion.

The enterprize against Sparta was much more delicate, and of greater importance. No access could be had to it, but under the mask of friendship. Nabis had long solicited the aid of the Ætolians. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march a thousand foot thither. To these were added thirty young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were strictly enjoined by the magistrates to execute punctually their leader's orders, of what nature soever they might be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both used to march out their troops every day, and exercise them in the plains on the side of the Eurotas. One day, Alexamenes, having given the word to his
troopers,

troopers, he attacks Nabis, whom he had purposely drawn into a solitary place, and throws him from his horse. Immediately all the troopers fall on, and cover him with wounds. Alexamenes, to lose no time, returns to the city to seize on Nabis's palace. Had he convened the assembly that instant, and made a speech suitable to the occasion, his business would have been done, and Sparta had declared for the Ætolians: But he spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night, in searching after the tyrant's treasures; and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans taking up arms, make a great slaughter of the Ætolians dispersed in quest of booty, and march directly to the palace, where they kill Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and solely intent upon securing his rich spoils. Such was the result of the enterprize against Sparta.

(g) Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, no sooner heard of Nabis's death, but he marched a considerable body of troops towards Sparta, where he found all things in the utmost disorder. He assembled the principal citizens, made a speech to them, as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed so far between arguments and compulsion, that he engaged that city to join in the Achæan league.

This success greatly increased the reputation of Philopœmen with those states, his having brought over to the league a city of so great power and authority as Sparta, being justly esteemed a service of no small importance. By this means he also gained the friendship and confidence of the worthiest men in Lacedæmonia, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reason, after the palace and furniture of Nabis had been sold, they resolved, by a publick decree, to make him a present of the monies arising from that sale, amounting to an hundred and twenty * talents; and sent him a deputation to desire his acceptance of them.

On

(g) Plut. in Philop. p. 364, 365.

* *An hundred and twenty thousand crowns.*

On this occasion, says Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great personage was of the purest and most perfect kind; and that he not only appeared a good and virtuous man, but was really such: Not one of the Spartans would undertake the commission of offering him that present. Struck with veneration and fear, they all excused themselves; and therefore it was at last resolved to send Timolaus, who had formerly been his guest.

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the house of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindest reception. Here he had an opportunity of considering the severity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his sentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, that rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was so astonished at all he saw, that he did not dare so much as to mention to Philopœmen the present he was come to offer him; so that, giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was sent again, but was not more successful than before. At last, going a third time, he ventured (but with great pain to himself) to acquaint Philopœmen with the good-will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity; but the instant he had done speaking, he went to Sparta; where, after expressing the highest gratitude to the Spartans, he advised them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting such of their friends as were men of probity, because they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wisdom without expence to them; but to keep their gold to purchase and corrupt the wicked, and those who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their seditious discourses; in order that being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. "For it is much more adviseable," added he, "to stop an enemy's mouth, than that of a friend." Such was the disinterestedness of Philopœmen. Let the reader compare these great and noble sentiments with

with the baseness of those groveling wretches, whose whole study is to heap up riches.

(b) Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus, and by the mighty promises he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the present state of Greece, and especially by the resolutions which had been taken in the general assembly of the Ætolians, he determined him to set out immediately for that country. He went with such precipitation, that he did not give himself time to concert the necessary measures for so important a war, nor carry with him a sufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampascus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities, which he ought to have reduced before he declared war; but Antiochus, without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the East, brought only ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. These troops would hardly have sufficed, had he been to possess himself only of a naked and defenceless country, without having so formidable an enemy as the Romans to oppose.

He arrived first at Demetrias; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been sent by the Ætolians and their ambassador, he went to Lamia, where their assembly was held. He was received there with the highest demonstrations of joy. He began with apologizing for his being come with much fewer troops than they expected; insinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their interest, since, at the first signal they gave him, he was come, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and without waiting till all things were ready; but that their expectations should soon be answered: That as soon as the season for navigation should arrive, they should see all Greece filled with arms, men and horses, and all the sea-coasts covered with galleys: That he would spare neither expence, application, nor danger, for the deliverance of Greece, and to acquire the Ætolians the first rank in it: That with his numerous

Vol. VI. H armies,

armies, there would arise from Asia munitions of every kind : That all he desired of them was, only to provide his troops with whatever might be necessary for their present subsistence. Having ended his speech, he withdrew.

The most judicious in the assembly saw plainly that Antiochus, instead of a real and present succour, as he had promised, gave them little more than hopes and promises. They could have wished that they had only chosen him arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. However, Thoas having gained a majority, caused Antiochus to be nominated generalissimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council, whenever he should think proper to deliberate with them.

SECT. VI. ANTIOCHUS *endeavours to bring over the Achæans to his interest, but in vain. He possesses himself of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The Romans proclaim war against him, and send MANIUS ACILIUS the consul into Greece. ANTIOCHUS makes an ill use of HANNIBAL's counsel. He is defeated near Thermopylæ. The Ætolians submit to the Romans.*

A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. (a) **T**HE first subject on which the king and the Ætolians deliberated was, with what enterprise to begin first. It was thought adviseable to make a second attempt on Chalcis; and thereupon the troops set out for that city without loss of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætolians to have a conference with such citizens of Chalcis, as were come out of it on their arrival. The Ætolians urged them in the strongest terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declared, that this prince was come into Greece, not to make it the seat of war, but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words, as the Romans had done : That nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both, because
that

that the one would always defend them against the other; and that by this means they would hold both in respect: That they would do well to consider, in case they should not agree to the proposal now made them, the great danger to which they would expose themselves; as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great distance; whereas the king was present, and at their gates.

Miction, one of the principal citizens of Chalcis, replied, that he could not guess what people it was that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom, and was come into Greece: That he knew of no city garrisoned by Roman soldiers, nor that paid the least tribute to the Romans, or complained of being oppressed by them. That as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occasion for a deliverer, as they were free; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the sweets of peace, under the protection, and with the amity of the Romans: That they did not refuse the amity either of the king or of the Ætolians; but that, if they would show themselves friends, the first thing they were desired to do was, to leave their island: That they were fully determined, neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them, but in concert with the Romans.

This answer was reported to the king; as he had brought but few troops, and was not able to force the city, he resolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill-concerted a first step did him no honour, and was no good omen with regard to the future.

They had recourse elsewhere, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambassadors of Antiochus and those of the Ætolians at Ægæ, where their assembly was held, in presence of Quintius the Roman general.

Antiochus's ambassador spoke first. He * was a
H 2 vain

* Is, ut plerique quos opes re- rasque inani sonitu verborum com-
pleverat. *Liv.*
giæ alunt, vaniloquus, maria ter-

vain man (as those generally are who live in the courts, and at the expence of princes;) and fancying himself a great orator, he spoke with an absolute and emphatical tone of voice. He told them, that a vast body of cavalry was passing the Hellespont into Europe, consisting, partly of cuirassiers, and partly of bowmen, who, even when they were flying on horseback, turned about, and discharged their arrows with the surest aim. To this cavalry, which, according to him, were alone superior to the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry; the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Caddusians, and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed it would be so large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it; the right wing to be composed of Tyrians and Sidonians; the left of Aradians and the Sidetes of Pamphilia; nations, who were allowed universally to be the best and most experienced mariners in the world: That it would be to no purpose to enumerate the immense sums which Antiochus was bringing with him; every one knowing, that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold: That they were to judge, in proportion, of the rest of the military preparations: That in consequence the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip or an Hannibal; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia; but with a prince who was sovereign of all Asia and part of Europe: That nevertheless, though he was come from the most remote parts of the East, purely to restore the liberty of Greece, he did not require any article from the Achæans, that should interfere with the fidelity they might imagine they owed the Romans, their first friends and allies: That he did not desire them to unite their arms with his against the people in question, but only to stand neuter, and not declare for either party.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect; adding, that the safest and wisest course the Achæans could take, would be, to remain specta-

tors of the war, and to wait in peace for the event, without sharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then, growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general, and against Quintius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip, but their general's life, and the safety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintius do in this battle, worthy a great captain? He declared, that he himself had observed him during the engagement wholly employed in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur or a priest, whilst himself was exposing his person and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preservation.

To this Quintius answered, that it was plain which party Archidamus had studied to please by this speech; that knowing the Achæans were perfectly acquainted with the disposition and character of the Ætolians, whose courage consisted solely in words, not in actions, he had not endeavoured to gain their esteem; but had studied to ingratiate himself with the king's ambassadors, and, by their means, with the king himself: That if the world had not known till now, what it was that formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the speeches made by the ambassadors showed it visibly enough: That on both sides, nothing but boasting and falsehood had been employed. That vaunting of troops they had not, they seduced and blew up the vanity of each other by false promises and vain hopes; the Ætolians asserting boldly on one side (as you have just now heard) that they had defeated Philip, and preserved the Romans; and that all the cities of Greece were ready to declare for Ætolia; and the king, on the other side, affirming, that he was going to bring into the field innumerable bodies of horse and foot, and to cover the sea with his fleets. "This," says he, "puts me in mind of an entertainment given
" me in Chalcis, by a friend of mine, a very worthy

“ man, who treats his guests in the best manner.
 “ Surprized at the prodigious quantity and variety of
 “ dishes that were served up, we asked him how it
 “ was possible for him, in the month of June, to get
 “ together so great a quantity of game. My friend,
 “ who was not vain-glorious like these people, only
 “ fell a laughing, and owned sincerely, that what we
 “ took for venison, was nothing but swine’s flesh,
 “ seasoned several ways, and cooked up with different
 “ sauces. The same thing may be said of the king’s
 “ troops which have been so highly extolled, and
 “ whose number has been vainly multiplied in mighty
 “ names. For these Dahæ, Medes, Caddusians, and
 “ Elymæans, are all but one nation, and a nation of
 “ slaves rather than soldiers. Why may not I, Achæ-
 “ ans, represent to you all the motions and expediti-
 “ ons of this great king, who one moment hurries to
 “ the assembly of the Ætolians, there to beg for pro-
 “ visions and money; and the next goes in person to
 “ the very gates of Chalcis, from which he is obliged
 “ to retire with ignominy. Antiochus has very inju-
 “ diciously given credit to the Ætolians; and they,
 “ with as little judgment, have believed Antiochus.
 “ This ought to teach you, not to suffer yourselves to
 “ be imposed upon, but to rely upon the faith of the
 “ Romans, which you have so often experienced. I
 “ am surprized they can venture to tell you, that it
 “ will be safest for you to stand neuter, and to remain
 “ only spectators of the war. That would, indeed,
 “ be a sure method; I mean, to become the prey
 “ of the victor.”

The Achæans were neither long, nor divided in
 their deliberations, and the result was, that they should
 declare war against Antiochus and the Ætolians. Im-
 mediately, at the request of Quintius, they sent five
 hundred men to the aid of Chalcis, and the like num-
 ber to Athens.

Antiochus received no greater satisfaction from the
 Bœotians, who answered, that they would consider on
 what

what was to be done, when that prince should come into Bœotia.

In the mean time Antiochus made a new attempt, and advanced to Chalcis with a much greater body of troops than before. And now the faction against the Romans prevailed, and the city opened its gates to him. The rest of the cities soon following their example, he made himself master of all Eubœa. He fancied he had made a great acquisition, in having reduced so considerable an island in his first campaign. But can that be called a conquest, where there are no enemies to make opposition?

(b) But terrible ones were making preparations against that prince. The Romans, after consulting the will of the gods by omens and auspices, proclaimed war against Antiochus and his adherents. Processions were appointed during two days, to implore the aid and protection of the gods. They made a vow to solemnize the great games for ten days, in case they should be successful in the war, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods. What a reproach would so religious, though blind a paganism, reflect on Christian generals, who should be ashamed of piety and religion!

A. M.
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Ant. J. C.
191.

At the same time they omitted no human means to their success. The senators and inferior magistrates were forbidden to remove to any distance from Rome, from which they could not return the same day; and five senators were not allowed to be absent from it at the same time. The love of their country took place of every thing. Acilius the consul, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Brundisium on the fifteenth of May; and set out from Rome himself some days before.

About the same time, ambassadors from Ptolemy, Philip, the Carthaginians, and Masinissa, arrived there, to offer the Romans money, corn, men, and ships. The senate said, that the people of Rome thanked them, but would accept of nothing except

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the corn, and that upon condition of paying for it. They only desired Philip to assist the consul.

In the mean time Antiochus, after having solicited many cities, either by his envoys or in person, to enter into an alliance with him, went to Demetrius, and there held a council of war with the chief commanders of his army, on the operations of the campaign that was going to open. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was present at it, and his opinion was first asked. He began, by insisting on the necessity there was to use the utmost endeavours to engage Philip in Antiochus's interest; which, he said, was so important a step, that if it succeeded, they might assure themselves of the success of the war. "And indeed," says he, "as Philip sustained so long the whole weight
 " of the Roman power, what may not be expected
 " from a war, in which the two greatest kings of
 " Europe and Asia will unite their forces; especially,
 " as the Romans will have those against them in it,
 " who gave them the superiority before; I mean the
 " Ætolians and Athamanians, to whom only, as is
 " well known, they were indebted for victory? Now,
 " who can doubt but Philip may easily be brought
 " over from the Roman interest, if what Thoas so
 " often repeated to the king, in order to induce him to
 " cross into Greece, be true, that this prince, highly
 " incensed to see himself reduced to a shameful ser-
 " vitude under the name of peace, waited only an
 " opportunity to declare himself? And could he ever
 " hope one more favourable than that which now of-
 " fers itself?" If Philip should refuse to join Antiochus, Hannibal advised him to send his son Seleucus at the head of the army he had in Thrace, to lay waste the frontiers of Macedonia, and by that means to render Philip incapable of assisting the Romans.

He insisted on a still more important point, and asserted, as he had always done, that it would be impossible to reduce the Romans, except in Italy; which had been his reason for always advising Antiochus to begin the war there. That since another
 course

course had been taken, and the king was at that time in Greece; it was his opinion, in the present state of affairs, that the king ought to send immediately for all his troops out of Asia; and not rely on the Ætolians, or his other allies of Greece, who possibly might fail him on a sudden. That the instant those forces should arrive, it was proper to march towards those coasts of Greece, opposite to Italy, and order his fleet to set sail thither also. That he should employ half of it to alarm and ravage the coasts of Italy; and keep the other half in some neighbouring harbour, in order to seem upon the point of crossing into Italy; and actually to do so, in case a favourable opportunity should present itself. By this means, said he, the Romans will be kept at home, from the necessity of defending their own coasts; and, at the same time, it will be the best method for carrying the war into Italy, the only place (in his opinion) where the Romans could be conquered. "These (concluded Hannibal) are my thoughts; and if I am not so well qualified for presiding in another war, I ought at least to have learnt, by my good and ill successes, how to act in the field against the Romans. My zeal and fidelity may be depended upon. As to the rest, I beseech the gods to prosper all your undertakings, whatsoever they may be."

The council could not then but approve of what Hannibal had said, and indeed it was the only good advice that could be given Antiochus in the present posture of his affairs. However, he complied only with the article which related to the troops of Asia; he immediately sending orders to Polyxenides, his admiral, to bring them over into Greece. With regard to all the rest of Hannibal's plan, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from putting it in execution, by assuring him, that he could not fail of being victorious. They observed further, that should he follow Hannibal's plan, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, because he had formed it; that the king ought to have all the glory of the war, and for that

reason it was necessary for him to draw up another plan, without regarding that of the Carthaginian. In this manner are the best counsels lost, and the most powerful empires ruined.

The king having joined the troops of the allies to his own, takes several cities of Theffaly; he is however obliged to raise the siege of Larissa, Bebius the Roman prætor having sent it a speedy aid, after which he retired to Demetrias.

From thence he went to Chalcis, where he fell distractedly in love with the man's daughter at whose house he lodged. Though he was upwards of fifty, he was so passionately fond of that girl, who was not twenty, that he resolved to marry her. Forgetting the two enterprizes he had formed, the war against the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he spent the rest of the winter in feasts and diversions, on the occasion of his nuptials. This taste for pleasure soon communicated itself from the king to the whole court, and occasioned an universal neglect of military discipline.

He did not wake out of the lethargy into which this effeminate life had thrown him, till news was brought, that Acilius the consul was advancing towards him in Theffaly with the utmost diligence. Immediately the king set out; and finding at the place appointed for the rendezvous but a very small number of the confederate troops, whose officers told him, that it was impossible for them, though they had used their utmost endeavours, to bring more forces into the field; the king then found, but too late, how much he had been imposed upon by the great promises of Thoas; and the truth of Hannibal's words, that it would not be safe for him to rely on the troops of such allies. All he could do at that time was, to seize the pass of Thermopylæ, and send to the Ætolians for a reinforcement. Either the inclemency of the weather, or contrary winds, had prevented the arrival of the Asiatick forces, which Polyxenides was bringing, and the king had only those troops he had brought
the

the year before, which scarce exceeded ten thousand men.

(c) Antiochus imagined he had provided sufficiently for his security against the Romans, who were advancing against him, by having seized the pass of Thermopylæ, and strengthening the natural fortifications with intrenchments and walls. The consul came forward, determined to attack him. Most of his officers and soldiers had been employed in the war against Philip. These he animated, by putting them in mind of the famous victory they had gained over that king, who was a much braver prince, and infinitely more practised in military affairs than Antiochus; who being newly married, and enervated by pleasures and voluptuousness, vainly fancied that war was to be carried on in the same manner as nuptials are solemnized. Acilius had dispatched Cato, his lieutenant, with a large detachment in quest of some by-path that led to the hill above the enemy. Cato, after inexpressible fatigues, went over the mountains through the same path where Xerxes, and Brennus afterwards, opened themselves a passage; when falling suddenly on some soldiers, whom he met there, he soon put them to flight. Immediately he orders the trumpets to sound, and advances at the head of his detachment sword in hand, and with great shouts. A body of six hundred Ætolians, who guarded some of the eminences, seeing him come down the mountains, take to their heels, and retire towards their army, where they spread universal terror. At the same instant the consul attacks Antiochus's intrenchments with all his troops, and forces them. The king, having his teeth shattered by a stone, was in such excessive pain, that he was forced to leave the field. After his retreat, no part of his army dared to stand their ground, or wait the coming up of the Romans. They were now universally routed in a place, where there was almost no outlets to escape through; for on one side they were

(c) Liv. l. xxxv. n. 16---21, Plut. in Caton. p. 343, 344. Appian. in Syr. p. 96---98.

were stopped by deep fens, and on the other by craggy rocks; so that there was no getting off either on the right or left. The soldiers, however, crowding and pushing forward, to avoid the enemy's swords, threw one another into the morasses and down the precipices, in which manner a great number of them perished.

After the battle was over, the consul embraced Cato a long time in his arms, who was still hot and out of breath; and cried out aloud, in the transports of his joy, that neither himself nor the Romans could ever reward his services as they deserved. Cato, who was now lieutenant-general under Acilius, had been consul, and had commanded the armies in Spain: But he did not think that the accepting of a subaltern employment for the service of his country, was any disgrace to him; and this was a frequent practice among the Romans. In the mean time the victorious army continued the pursuit, and cut to pieces all Antiochus's forces, five hundred excepted, with whom he escaped to Chalcis.

Acilius sent Cato to Rome, with the news of this victory, and related in his letters, how greatly his lieutenant had contributed to it. It is noble, in a general, to do justice in this manner to virtue, and not to harbour any thing so mean as jealousy of another's merit. The arrival of Cato at Rome, filled the citizens with a joy so much the greater, as they had very much doubted the success of the war against so powerful and renowned a prince. Orders were thereupon given for publick prayers and sacrifices to be offered up to the gods, by way of thanksgiving, for three days together.

The reader has doubtless often admired, to see the heathens so very careful in beginning and ending all their wars with solemn acts of religion; endeavouring, in the first place, by vows and sacrifices to acquire the favour of those whom they honoured as gods; and afterwards returning them publick and solemn thanks for the success of their arms. This was a double testimony

mony they paid to an important and capital truth, the tradition of which (of the same antiquity with the world) has been preserved by all nations; that there is a supreme being and a providence, which presides over all human events. This laudable custom is observed regularly among us; and it is only among Christians, in strictness of speech, that it may be called a religious custom. I only wish that one practice were added to it, which certainly corresponds with the intention of superiors, as well ecclesiastical as political; I mean, that prayers were offered up at the same time for those brave officers and soldiers, who have shed their blood in the defence of their country.

The victory gained over Antiochus was followed by the surrender of all the cities and fortresses which that prince had taken, and especially of Chalcis and of all Eubœa. The * consul, after his victory, discovered such a moderation in every thing, as reflected greater honour on him than the victory itself.

(d) Though the Ætolians, by their injurious and insolent conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy of the least regard, Acilius however endeavoured to bring them over by gentle methods. He represented, that experience ought to teach them, how little they could depend on Antiochus: That it was not too late for them to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans: That to give an unexceptionable proof of the sincerity of their repentance, they should surrender to him Heraclea, their capital city. These remonstrances being all to no purpose, he saw plainly that he should be obliged to employ force, and accordingly he besieged that place with all his troops. Heraclea was a very strong city, of great extent, and able to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having employed the balistæ, catapultæ, and all the other machines of war, attacked the city in four places at the same time. The besieged defended themselves with inexpressible courage, or rather fury. They immediately

(d) Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 22---26.

* Multo modestia post victoriam, quàm ipsa victoria, laudabilior.
Liv.

ately repaired such parts of the wall as were beat down. In their frequent sallies, they charged with a violence it was scarce possible to support, for they fought in the highest despair. They burnt in an instant the greatest part of the machines employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner for four-and-twenty days, without the least intermission either day or night.

It was plain, that as the garrison did not consist of near so many forces as the Roman army, it must necessarily be greatly weakened by such violent and uninterrupted assaults. And now the consul formed a new plan. He discontinued the attack at twelve every night, and did not renew it till about nine the next morning. The Ætolians, not doubting but this proceeded from the over-fatigue of the besiegers, and persuaded that they were as much exhausted as themselves, they took advantage of the repose allowed them, and retired at the same time with the Romans. They continued this practice for some time: But the consul having drawn off his troops at midnight as usual, at three that morning he assaulted the city in three places only; placing, at a fourth, a body of troops, who were commanded not to move, till a signal should be given. Such Ætolians as were asleep, being very drowsy and heavy from fatigue, were waked with the utmost difficulty; and those who rose from their slumbers, ran up and down at random wherever the noise called them. At day-break, the signal being given by the consul, the assault was made in that part of the city which had not yet been attacked; and from whence the besieged, on that account, had drawn off their people. The city was taken in an instant, and the Ætolians fled with the utmost precipitation into the citadel. The general suffered the city to be plundered, not so much from a spirit of hatred and revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who, till now, had not been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. As the citadel was in want of provisions, it could not hold out long; and accordingly, at the first assault,

assault, the garrison surrendered. Among the prisoners was Damocritus, a person of the greatest distinction among the Ætolians, who in the beginning of the war had answered Quintius, *That he would bring him the decree to Italy, by which he had just before called in Antiochus.*

At the same time Philip was besieging * Lamia, which was but seven miles from Heraclea. It did not hold out long after the latter was taken.

Some days before this, the Ætolians had deputed ambassadors, with Thoas at their head, to Antiochus. The king promised them a speedy succour; gave them immediately a considerable sum of money, and kept Thoas, who staid very willingly with him, to hasten the execution of his promises.

(e) The Ætolians, who were exceedingly discouraged by the taking of Heraclea, considered how they might best put an end to a war, which had already been attended with very unhappy effects, and might have much worse. But the populace not approving the conditions of peace which were prescribed, the negotiation came to nothing.

In the mean time, the consul laid siege to Naupactus, in which the Ætolians had shut themselves up with all their forces. The siege had already been carried on two months, when Quintius, who during this time had been employed in Greece, in other matters, came thither and joined the consul. The destruction of that city would involve almost the whole people in the same fate. The usage which Quintius had met with from the Ætolians, had given him the greatest reason to be dissatisfied with them. However, he was moved to compassion, when he saw them on the brink of destruction; and therefore he advanced so near the walls, as to be known by the besieged. The city was reduced to the last extremities. A rumour being spread that Quintius was approaching, immediately the citizens run from all quarters to the walls.

(e) Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 27, 35.

* Both Lamia and Heraclea were in Phthiotis.

walls. Those unfortunate people stretching forth their hands towards Quintius, and calling him by his name, all burst into tears, and implored his assistance with the most mournful cries. Quintius, moved with their condition even to shedding of tears, expressed by his gesture that he could do nothing for them, and returned to the consul. In their conversation he represented, that as he had overcome Antiochus, it was but lost time to continue the siege of those two cities, and that the year of his command was near expiring. Acilius agreed with him; but being ashamed to raise the siege, he left Quintius at liberty to act as he pleased. The latter advancing near the walls a second time, the mournful cries were again heard, and the citizens besought him to take compassion of them. Quintius, by a sign with his hand, bid them send deputies to him; when immediately Pheneas and the principal citizens came out, and threw themselves at his feet. Seeing them in that humble posture: “Your calamity,” says he, “banishes from my mind all thoughts of resentment and revenge. You now find that all things have happened as I foretold you they would; and you have not the consolation of being able to say, that none of these misfortunes were owing to yourselves. But destined, as I am, by providence to preserve Greece, your ingratitude shall not cancel my inclination to do good. Depute therefore some persons to the consul, and beg a truce for as much time as may suffice for sending ambassadors to Rome, in order to make your submissions to the senate. I will be your mediator and advocate with the consul.” They followed Quintius’s advice in every thing. The consul granted them a truce, broke up the siege, and marched back his army to Phocis.

King Philip sent ambassadors to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the happy success of this campaign, and to offer presents and sacrifices to the gods in the Capitol. They were received there with the highest marks of distinction; and the Romans gave up

up to them Demetrius, the son of Philip, who had been an hostage in their city. Thus ended the war which the Romans carried on against Antiochus in Greece.

SECT. VII. POLYXENIDES, *admiral of ANTIOCHUS's fleet, is defeated by LIVIUS. L. SCIPIO, the new consul, is appointed to carry on the war against ANTIOCHUS. SCIPIO AFRICANUS, his brother, serves under him. The Rhodians defeat HANNIBAL in a sea-fight. The consul marches against ANTIOCHUS, and crosses into Asia. He gains a signal victory over him near Magnesia. The king obtains a peace; and gives up, by a treaty, all Asia on this side mount Taurus. Dispute between EUMENES and the Rhodians, in presence of the Roman senate, relating to the Grecian cities of Asia.*

(f) **W**HILST the affairs I have just related passed in Greece, Antiochus lived easy and undisturbed in Ephesus; relying on the assurances of his flatterers and courtiers, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans, who (they declared) did not intend to cross into Asia. Hannibal was the only person capable of rousing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that instead of entertaining vain hopes, and suffering himself to be lulled asleep by irrational and improbable discourse, he might be assured, that he would soon be forced to fight the Romans both by sea and land, in Asia, and for Asia; and that he must resolve, either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it sword in hand, against enemies who aspired at no less than the conquest of the whole world.

The king then became sensible of the great danger he was in, and immediately sent orders to hasten the march of the eastern troops which were not yet arrived. He also fitted out a fleet, embarked, and sailed to the Chersonesus. He there fortified Lyfimachia, Sestus, Abydos, and other cities in that neighbourhood,

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hood,

(f) Liv. l. xxxvi. n. 41 --45. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99, 100.

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hood, to prevent the Romans from crossing into Asia by the Hellespont; and this being done, he returned to Ephesus.

Here it was resolved, in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in search of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which was just before arrived in the Ægean sea, and to attack it. They met near mount Corychus in Ionia. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides; but at last Polyxenides was beat, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ships were sunk, thirteen taken, and he escaped with the rest to Ephesus. The Romans sailed into the harbour of Cana, in Ætolia, drew their ships ashore, and fortified, with a good intrenchment and rampart, the place where they laid them up for the whole winter.

(g) Antiochus, at the time this happened, was in Magnesia, assembling his land-forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched towards the coast, and resolved to equip another so powerful, as might be able to preserve the empire of those seas. For this purpose, he refitted such ships as had been brought off, reinforced them with new ones, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch those of Syria and Phœnicia. He also gave part of the army to Seleucus his son, whom he sent into Ætolia, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round; and marched in person with the rest into winter-quarters in Phrygia.

(h) During these transactions, the Ætolian ambassadors arrived at Rome, where they pressed to be admitted to audience, because the truce was near expiring. Quintius, who was returned from Greece, employed all his credit in their favour. But he found the senate very much exasperated against the Ætolians. They were considered, not as common enemies, but as a people, so very untractable, that it would be to

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(g) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 8. Appian, in Syriac. p. 100.

(h) Liv.

l. xxxvii. n. 1.

no purpose to conclude an alliance with them. After several days debate, in which they were neither allowed nor refused peace, two proposals were made to them, and left to their option: These were, either to submit entirely to the will of the senate; or to pay a thousand * talents, and to acknowledge all those for their friends or enemies, whom the Romans should consider as such. As the Ætolians desired to know particularly how far they were to submit to the will of the senate, no express answer was made them. They therefore withdrew, without obtaining any thing, and were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

(i) The next year the Romans gave the command of the land-armies, which Acilius had before, to L. Cornelius Scipio, the new consul, under whom Scipio Africanus, his brother, had offered to serve as lieutenant. The senate and people of Rome were very desirous of trying, which of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greatest service to the army in which he should fight. The command of the fleet, which Livius had before, was given to L. Æmilius Rhegillus.

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The consul being arrived in Ætolia, did not trifle away his time in besieging one town after another; but, wholly attentive to his principal view, after granting the Ætolians a six-month's truce, in order that they might have full time for sending a second embassy to Rome, he resolved to march his army through Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to cross over into Asia. However, he thought it advisable previously to inform himself how Philip might stand affected. This prince gave the army such a reception as might be expected from the most faithful and most zealous ally. At its arrival, as well as departure, he furnished it all necessary refreshments and supplies, with a truly royal munificence. In the

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(i) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 1--47. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99, & 100.

* About 190,000 l.

entertainments * he made for the consul, his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he discovered an easy, graceful air; and such a politeness, as was very pleasing to Scipio Africanus. For this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to a certain elegance of manners and noble generosity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.

The praise which Livy gives Scipio in this place, is also very honourable to Philip. He had at that time for his guests, the most illustrious personages in the world, a Roman consul, and at the same time general of the armies of that republick; and not only him, but Scipio Africanus, that consul's brother. Profusion is ordinary, and in some measure pardonable on these occasions; and yet nothing of that kind appeared in the reception which Philip gave to his guests. He regaled them in such a manner as became a great prince; and with a magnificence that suited their dignity and his own, but at the same time was far from discovering the least pomp or ostentation, and was infinitely improved by the engaging carriage of the master of the feast; and by the care he took to set before his guests with taste and decorum whatever might be most agreeable to them. *Multa in eo dexteritas & humanitas visa.* These personal qualities, in the sense of Scipio, did Philip greater honour, and gave his guests a more advantageous idea of him, than the most sumptuous profusions could have done. This excellent taste on both sides, so uncommon in princes and great men, is a fine model for persons of their high rank.

The consul and his brother, in return for the noble and generous reception which Philip had given the army, remitted him, in the name of the Roman people, who had invested him with full powers for that purpose, the remainder of the sum he was to pay them.

Philip

* *Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; videretur, sicut ad cætera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum. Liv.*

Philip seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to accompany the Roman army; and to supply it with necessaries of every kind, not only in Macedonia, but as far as Thrace. His experience taught him, how much the Roman forces were superior to his own; and his inability to shake off the yoke of obedience and submission, always grating to kings, obliged him to cultivate the good opinion of a people on whom his future fate depended; and it was wise in him to do that with a good grace, which he would otherwise in some measure have been obliged to do. For in reality, it was scarce possible for him not to retain a very strong resentment against the Romans for the condition to which they had reduced him; for kings are never able to accustom themselves to depend on, and submit to others.

(k) In the mean time the Roman fleet advanced towards Thrace, to favour the passage of the consul's troops into Asia. Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, who was a Rhodian exile, by a stratagem, defeated Pausistratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet, appointed to succour the Romans. He attacked him by surprise in the harbour of Samos, and burnt or sunk nine-and-twenty of his ships; and Pausistratus himself lost his life in this engagement. The Rhodians, so far from being discouraged by this great loss, meditated only their revenge. Accordingly, with incredible diligence they fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former. It joined that of Æmilius, and both fleets sailed towards Elea, to aid Eumenes, whom Seleucus was besieging in his capital. This succour arrived very seasonably; Eumenes being just on the point of being reduced by the enemy. Diophanes the Achæan, who had formed himself under the famous Philopœmen, obliged the enemy to raise the siege. He had entered the city with a thousand foot, and an hundred horse. At the head of his own troops only, and in sight of the inhabitants, who did not dare to follow him, he

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(k) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 9---11. & n. 18---22. Appian. in Syr. p. 101---103.

performed actions of such extraordinary bravery, as obliged Seleucus at length to raise the siege, and quit the country.

(*l*) The Rhodian fleet being afterwards detached in quest of Hannibal, who was bringing to the king that of Syria and Phœnicia, the Rhodians, singly, fought him on the coasts of Pamphylia. By the goodness of their ships, and the dexterity of their seamen, they defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Megiste, near Patara; and there blocked him up so close, as made it impossible for him to act for the service of the king.

The news of this defeat came to Antiochus, much about the time that advice was brought, that the Roman consul was advancing by hasty marches into Macedonia, and was preparing to pass the Hellespont and enter Asia. Antiochus then saw the imminent danger he was in, and made haste to take all possible methods for preventing it.

(*m*) He sent ambassadors to Prusias king of Bithynia, to inform him of the design which the Romans had of entering Asia. They were ordered to display, in the strongest terms, the fatal consequences of that enterprize: That they were coming with a design to destroy all the kingdoms in the world, and subject them to the empire of the Romans: That after having subdued Philip and Nabis, they had resolved to attack him: That should he have the ill fortune to be overcome, the fire spreading, would soon reach Bithynia: That as to Eumenes, no aid could be expected from him, as he had voluntarily submitted himself, and put on the chains of the Romans with his own hands.

These motives had made a great impression on Prusias, but the letters he received at the same time from Scipio the consul and his brother, contributed very much to remove his fears and suspicions. The latter repre-

(*l*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 23, 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 100. Cor. Nep. in Hannib. c. viii.

(*m*) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 25---30. Appian. in Syr. p. 101---104. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxii.

represented to him, that it was the constant practice of the Romans, to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as fought their alliance; and he mentioned several examples of that kind, in which he himself had been concerned. He said, that in Spain, several princes, who, before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very considerable figure, were since become great kings: That Masinissa had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that the dominions of Syphax had been given to him, whereby he was become one of the most powerful potentates of the universe. That Philip and Nabis, though vanquished by Quintius, had nevertheless been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones: That, the year before, the tribute which Philip had agreed to pay, was remitted, and his son, who was an hostage in Rome, sent back to him: That as to Nabis, he would have been on the throne at that time, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the Ætolians.

The arrival of Livius, who had commanded the fleet, and whom the Romans had sent as their ambassador to Prusias, fully determined him. He made it clear to him, which party might naturally expect to be victorious; and how much safer it would be for him to rely on the friendship of the Romans, than on that of Antiochus.

This king being disappointed of the hopes he had entertained, of bringing over Prusias to his interest, now meditated only how he might best oppose the passage of the Romans into Asia, and prevent its being made the seat of war. He imagined, that the most effectual way to do this, would be, to recover the empire of the seas, of which he had been almost dispossessed, by the loss of the two battles related above; that then, he might employ his fleets against whom, and in what manner, he pleased; and that it would be impossible for the enemy to transport an army into Asia by the Hellespont, or by any other way, when his fleets should be wholly employed to prevent it. An-

tiachus resolved therefore to hazard a second battle; and for that purpose went to Ephesus, where his fleet lay. He there reviewed it, manned it to the best of his power, furnished it abundantly with all things necessary to another engagement, and sent it once more under the command of Polyxenides, in quest of the enemy, with orders to fight them. What determined his resolution was, his having received advice that a great part of the Rhodian fleet continued near Patara; and that king Eumenes had sailed with his whole fleet to the Chersonesus, to join the consul.

Polyxenides came up with Æmilius and the Romans near Myonesus, a maritime city of Ionia, and attacked it with as little success as before. Æmilius obtained a complete victory, and obliged him to retire to Ephesus, after having sunk or burnt twenty-nine of his ships, and taken thirteen.

(*n*) Antiochus was so struck with the news of this defeat, that he seemed entirely disconcerted; and, as if he had been deprived of his senses, on a sudden he took such measures as were evidently contrary to his interest. In his consternation, he sent orders for drawing his forces out of Lyfimachia and the other cities of the Hellespont, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, who were marching towards those parts, with a design of crossing into Asia; whereas, the only means that remained to hinder this, would have been to leave those troops in the places where they were. For Lyfimachia, being very strongly fortified, might have held out a long siege, and perhaps very far in the winter; which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by the want of provisions and forage; and during that interval, he might have taken measures for an accommodation with the Romans.

He not only committed a great error, in drawing his forces out of those places at a time when they were most necessary in them, but did it in so precipitate a manner, that his troops left all the ammunition and provisions (of both which he had laid up very considerable

derable quantities) behind them in those cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and provisions in such great plenty, that they seemed to have been prepared expressly for the use of their army; and, at the same time, the passage of the Hellespont was so open, that they carried over their army without the least opposition, at that very part where the enemy might have disputed it with them to the greatest advantage.

We have here a sensible image of what is so often mentioned in the scriptures, that when God is determined to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or ministers, of counsel, prudence, and courage. With this he makes the prophet Isaiah threaten his people. (o) *For behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts doth take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water.—The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient.—The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator.* But a very remarkable circumstance is, that our pagan historian says here expressly, and repeats it twice, that * *God took away the king's judgment, and overthrew his reason; a punishment, says he, that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into some great calamity.* The expression is very strong; *God overthrew the king's reason.* He took from him, that is, he refused him sense, prudence, and judgment: He banished from his mind every salutary thought; he confused him, and made him even averse to all the good counsel that could be given him. This is what † David besought

(o) Isaiah, iii. 1, 2, 3.

* Θεὸς βλαπὼν τὸς ἥδη τῷ λογισμῷ ὅπερ ἅπασι προσκόντων ἀνυχμάτων, ἐπιγίγνεται — ὃ μὴν ἔτε τὸν διὰ πλεον ἐφύλαξεν ὑπὸ θεοβλαθείας.

† Infatua, quæso, Domine, consilium Ahitophel. — Domini autem nutu dissipatum est consilium Ahitophel utile, ut induceret Dominus super Absalom malum.

2 Reg. xv. 31. & xvii. 14. O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness, 2 Sam. xiv. 31. For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, TO THE INTENT THAT THE LORD MIGHT BRING EVIL UPON ABSALOM. Chap. xvii. ver. 14.

besought God to do with regard to Ahitophel, Absalom's minister: *O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness.* The word, in the Latin version, is very strong, INFATUA: The import of which is, how prudent soever his counsels may be, make them appear foolish and stupid to Absalom; and they accordingly did appear so. *And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahitophel: For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom.*

(p) The Romans being come into Asia, halted some time at Troy, which they considered as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence they set out to settle in Italy. The consul offered up sacrifices to Minerva, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, and much after the same manner as fathers and children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of this city, seeing their posterity conquerors of the West and of Africa, and laying claim to Asia, as a kingdom that had been possessed by their ancestors, imagined they saw Troy rise out of its ashes in greater splendor than ever. On the other side, the Romans were infinitely delighted to see themselves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome; and to contemplate its temples and deities, which they had in common with that city.

(q) When advice was brought Antiochus that the Romans had passed the Hellespont, he began to think himself undone. He now would have been very glad to deliver himself from a war in which he had engaged rashly, and without examining seriously all its consequences. This made him resolve to send an ambassador to the Romans, to propose conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of the army,

(p) Justin. l. xxxi. c. 8.

Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxiii.
in Syr. p. 105---110.

(q) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 33---45.

Justin. l. xxxi. c. 7, 8. Appian.

army, it having halted for several days that were the festival days at Rome, in which the sacred shields, called *Ancilia*, were carried in solemn procession with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the *Salii*, or priests of Mars, whose office was to keep these shields, had not crossed the sea yet; for, being one of the *Salii*, he could not leave the place where the festival was solemnizing, so that the army was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it was, that persons of so much religion were no better illuminated, and directed their worship to such improper objects! This delay gave the king some hopes; for he imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, would have attacked him on a sudden. Besides, the noble character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, as his greatness of soul, his generosity and clemency to those he had conquered both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now satiated with glory, would not be averse to an accommodation; especially as he had a present to make him, which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own son, a child, who had been taken at sea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oreum, according to Livy.

Heraclides Byzantinus, who was the spokesman in this embassy, opened his speech with saying, that the very circumstance which had frustrated all the rest of the negotiations for peace between his master and the Romans, now made him hope success in the present; because all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect, were entirely removed: That the king, to put a stop to the complaints of his still keeping possession of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lyfimachia: That as to Smyrna, Lampfacus, and Alexandria of Troas, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies, which they should demand of him: That he would consent to refund the Romans half the expences of this war: He concluded with exhorting them to call to mind the uncertainty and vicissitude of human

human things, and not lay too great a stress on their present prosperity: That they ought to rest satisfied with making Europe, whose extent was so immense, the boundaries of their empire: That if they were ambitious of joining some part of Asia to it, the king would acquiesce with their desire, provided that the limits of it were clearly settled:

The ambassador imagined, that these proposals, which seemed so advantageous, could not be rejected; but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expences of the war, as the king had very unjustly been the occasion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole expence of it: They were not satisfied with his evacuating the garrisons he had in Ionia and Ætolia; but pretended to restore all Asia to its liberty, in the same manner as they had done Greece, which could not be effected, unless the king abandoned all Asia on this side mount Taurus.

Heraclides, not being able to obtain any thing in the publick audience, endeavoured, pursuant to his private instructions, particularly to conciliate Scipio Africanus. He began by assuring him, that the king would send him his son without ransom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatness of soul, and the character of the Romans, he promised him a large sum of money; and assured him that he might entirely dispose of all things in his power if he could mediate a peace for him. To these overtures, Scipio made the following answer: " I am not sur-
 " prized to find you unacquainted both with me and
 " the Romans, as you do not even know the condi-
 " tion of the prince who sent you hither. If (as you
 " assert) the uncertainty of the fate of arms should
 " prompt us to grant you peace upon easier terms,
 " your sovereign ought to have kept possession of Ly-
 " simachia, in order to have shut us out of the Cher-
 " sonesus; or else he ought to have met us in the
 " Hellespont, to have disputed our passage into Asia
 " with us. But, by abandoning them to us, he put
 " the yoke on his own neck; so that all he now has

“ to do, is, to submit to whatever conditions we shall
“ think fit to prescribe. Among the several offers he
“ makes me, I cannot but be strongly affected with
“ that which relates to the giving me back my son:
“ I hope the rest will not have the power to tempt
“ me. As a private man, I can promise to preserve
“ eternally the deepest sense of gratitude, for so pre-
“ cious a gift as he offers me in my son: But as a pub-
“ lick one, he must expect nothing from me. Go,
“ therefore, and tell him, in my name, that the best
“ counsel I can give him, is to lay down his arms,
“ and not reject any articles of peace which may be
“ proposed to him. This is the best advice I could
“ give him as a good and faithful friend.”

Antiochus thought that the Romans could not have prescribed harder conditions had they conquered him; and such a peace appeared to him as fatal as the most unfortunate war. He therefore prepared for a battle, as the Romans did also on their side.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he sent his son to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and restored both joy and health to a sick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms, “ Go,” says he to the envoys, “ and
“ thank the king from me, and tell him, that at pre-
“ sent, the only testimony I can give him of my gra-
“ titude, is, to advise him not to fight, till he hears
“ of my being arrived in the camp.” Perhaps, Scipio thought, that a delay for some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a solid peace.

Although the superiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle immediately; nevertheless, the wisdom and authority of Scipio, whom he considered as his last refuge in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed over the former consideration. He passed the

the river Phrygius (it is thought to be the Hermus) and posted himself near Magnesia, at the foot of mount Sipylus; where he fortified his camp so strongly, as not to fear being attacked in it.

The consul followed soon after. The armies continued several days in sight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his camp. His army consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty-four elephants: That of the Romans was composed, in the whole, of but thirty thousand men, and sixteen elephants. The consul, finding that the king lay still, summoned his council, to debate on what was to be done, in case he should persist in refusing to venture a battle. He represented, that as the winter was at hand, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the severity of the season, for the soldiers to keep the field; or, if they should go into winter-quarters, to discontinue the war till the year following. The Romans never showed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion: They all cried aloud, that it would be proper to march immediately against the enemy; to take the advantage of the ardour of the troops, who were ready to force the pallisades, and pass the intrenchments, to attack the enemy in their camp, in case they would not quit it. There is some probability that the consul was desirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, since his presence only would have diminished the glory of his success.

The next day, the consul, after viewing the situation of the camp, advanced with his army towards it in order of battle. The king, fearing that a longer delay would lessen the courage of his own soldiers and animate the enemy, at last marched out with his troops, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

Every thing was uniform enough in the consul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, of five thousand four hundred men each, and two such bodies of Latine infantry. The Romans were posted in the center, and the Latines in the two wings, the left of which
1 extended

extended towards the river. The first line of the center was composed of * pikemen, or *Hastati*; the second of *Principes*, and the third of *Triarii*: These, properly speaking, composed the main body. On the side of the right wing, to cover and sustain it, the consul had posted on the same line, three thousand Achæan infantry and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column, three thousand horse, eight hundred of which belonged to Eumenes, and the rest to the Romans. He posted, at the extremity of this wing, the light-armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought necessary to strengthen the left wing in this manner, because the rivers and banks, which were very steep, seemed a sufficient rampart. Nevertheless, four squadrons of horse were posted there. To guard the camp, they left two thousand Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as volunteers. The sixteen elephants were posted behind the *Triarii*, by way of corps-de-reserve, and as a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were greatly superior in number, but because the African elephants (all those in the Roman camp being of that country) were very much inferior both in size and strength to those of India, and therefore were not able to oppose them.

The king's army was more varied, on account of the different nations which composed it, and the disparity of their arms. Sixteen thousand foot, armed after the Macedonian fashion, and who composed the phalanx, formed also the main body. This phalanx was divided into ten bodies, each of fifty men in front by thirty-two deep; and two elephants were posted in each of the intervals which separated them. It was this formed the principal strength of the army. The sight only of the elephants inspired terror. Their size, which in itself was very remarkable, was increased by the ornament of their heads, and their plumes of feathers, which were embellished with gold, silver, purple,

* These are the names of the three the infantry of the Roman legions different bodies of troops of which consisted.

purple, and ivory; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of spoils, and are no defence to an army. The elephants carried towers on their backs, in which were four fighting men, besides the leader or guide. To the right of this phalanx was drawn up, in a column, part of the cavalry, fifteen hundred Asiatick Gauls, three thousand cuirassiers armed cap-a-pee, and a thousand horse, the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring nations. A body of sixteen elephants were posted next in files. A little beyond was the king's regiment, composed of the Argyraspides, so called, from their arms being of silver. After them twelve hundred Dahæ, all bowmen; to whom two thousand five hundred Mysians were joined. Then three thousand light-armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was closed by four thousand slingers and archers, half Cyrteans and half Elymæans. The left wing was drawn up much after the same manner, except that, before part of the cavalry, the chariots armed with scythes were posted; with the camels, mounted by Arabian bowmen, whose thin swords (in order that the riders might reach down from the back of these beasts) were six feet long. The king commanded the right; Seleucus his son, and Antipater his nephew, the left; and three lieutenant-generals the main body.

A thick fog rising in the morning, the sky grew so dark, that it was not possible for the king's soldiers to distinguish one another, and act in concert, on account of their great extent; and the damp occasioned by this fog, softened very much the bow-strings, the slings, and * thongs or straps, which were used for throwing javelins. The Romans did not suffer near so much, because they scarce used any but heavy arms, swords, and javelins: And as the front of their army was of less extent, they could the easier see one another.

The chariots armed with scythes, which Antiochus had flattered himself would terrify the enemy, and
throw

throw them into confusion, first occasioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their strength and weakness lay, opposed to them the Cretan archers, the slingers, and horse who discharged javelins; commanding them to charge them, not in a body, but in small platoons; and to pour on them, from every quarter, darts, stones, and javelins; shouting as loud as possible all the while. The horses, frightened at these shouts, run away with the chariots, scour the field on all sides, and turn against their own troops, as well as the camels. That empty terror thus removed, they fight hand to hand.

But this soon proved the destruction of the king's army: For the troops which were posted near these chariots, having been broke and put to flight by their disorder, left every part naked and defenceless, even to the very cuirassiers. The Roman cavalry vigorously charging the latter, it was not possible for them to stand the attack, so that they were broke immediately, many of them being killed on the spot, because the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which spread an alarm to the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it into disorder. And now the Roman legions charged it advantageously; the soldiers who composed the phalanx not having an opportunity to use their long pikes, because those who fled had taken refuge amongst them, and prevented their fighting, whilst the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx were of no service to it. The Roman soldiers, who had been used to fight in the wars of Africa against those animals, had learnt how to avoid their impetuosity, either by piercing their sides with their javelins, or by hamstringing them with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were therefore put into disorder; and the Romans were upon the point of surrounding the rear-ranks, when advice was brought that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had observed that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four squadrons of horse had been posted near it, as supposing it to be sufficiently defended by the river, had charged it with his auxiliary forces and his heavy-armed horse, not only in front but in flank; because that the four squadrons being unable to withstand the charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired towards the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been put into disorder, the infantry soon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, had staid to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying towards it, he marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardice and ignominious flight. But this was not all, for he commanded his soldiers to sheathe their swords in all they met, who refused to face about against the enemy. This order being given so seasonably, and immediately put in execution, had the desired effect. The stronger fear prevailed over the less. Those who were flying, first halt, and afterwards return to the battle. And now Æmilius, with his body of troops, which consisted of two thousand brave, well-disciplined men, opposes the king, who was pursuing vigorously those who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on his receiving advice that the left was defeated, flew to it very seasonably with two hundred horse. Antiochus, being now charged on every side, turned his horse, and retired. Thus the Romans, having defeated the two wings, advance forward over the heaps of slain, as far as the king's camp, and plunder it.

(r) It was observed, that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx, was one of the causes of his losing the battle. In this body the chief strength of his army consisted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was composed entirely of veteran, stout, and well-disciplined soldiers. To enable his phalanx

to

to do him greater service, he ought to have given it less depth, and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up thirty-two deep, half of them were of no use; and filled up the rest of the front with new-raised troops, without courage and experience, who consequently could not be depended on. However, this was the order in which Philip and Alexander used to draw up their phalanx.

There fell this day, as well in the battle as in the pursuit and the plunder of the camp, fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse: Fourteen hundred were taken prisoners, with fifteen elephants, with their guides. The Romans lost but three hundred foot, and twenty-four horse. Twenty-five of Eumenes's troops were killed. By this victory the Romans acquired all the cities of Asia minor, which now submitted voluntarily to them.

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had escaped the slaughter as he could assemble. From that city he marched to Celænæ in Phrygia, whither he heard that his son Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both passed mount Taurus with the utmost diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal nor Scipio Africanus were in this battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet; and the latter lay ill in Elea.

(s) The instant Antiochus was arrived at Antioch, he sent Antipater, his brother's son, and Xeuxis, who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to sue for peace. They found the consul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus his brother, who was recovered. They applied themselves to the latter, who presented them to the consul. They did not endeavour to excuse Antiochus in any manner; and only sued humbly, in his name, for peace. "You

"have always," said he to them, "pardoned with
K 2 "great-

(s) Liv. J. xxxvii. n. 45---49. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxiv. Appian, in Syr. p. 110---113.

“ greatness of mind, the kings and nations you have
 “ conquered. How much more should you be in-
 “ duced to do this, after a victory which gives you
 “ the empire of the universe? Henceforward, being
 “ become equal to the gods, lay aside all animosity
 “ against mortals, and make the good of human race
 “ your sole study for the future.”

The council was summoned upon this embassy, and after having seriously examined the affair, the ambassadors were called in. Scipio Africanus spoke, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. He said, that as the Romans did not suffer themselves to be depressed by adversity, on the other side, they were never too elate from prosperity: That therefore they would not insist upon any other demands, than those they had made before the battle: That Antiochus should evacuate all Asia on this side mount Taurus: That he should pay all the expences of the war, which were computed at fifteen * thousand Eubæan talents, and the payments were settled as follow; five hundred talents down; two thousand five hundred when the senate should have ratified the treaty, and the rest in twelve years, a thousand talents every year: That he should pay Eumenes the four hundred talents he owed him; and the residue of a payment, on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furnished the king of Syria; and that he should deliver twenty hostages, to be chosen by the Romans. He added, “ The Romans cannot persuade them-
 “ selves, that a prince who gives Hannibal refuge, is
 “ sincerely desirous of peace. They therefore de-
 “ mand that Hannibal be delivered up to them, as
 “ also Thoas the Ætolian, who was the chief agent
 “ in fomenting this war.” All these conditions were accepted.

L. Cotta was sent to Rome with the ambassadors of Antiochus, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of

* Fifteen thousand Attick talents sterling. Those of Eubæa, according to Budæus, were something less.
 amount to about two millions, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds less.

of this negotiation, and to obtain the ratification of it. Eumenes set out at the same time for Rome, whither the ambassadors of the cities of Asia went also. Soon after the five hundred talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, hostages were given for the remainder of the payment, and to secure the other articles of the treaty. Antiochus, one of the king's sons, was included in the hostages. He afterwards ascended the throne, and was surnamed Epiphanes. The instant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negotiating, concluding that they should be sacrificed by it, they provided for their own safety, by retiring before it was concluded.

The Ætolians had before sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit an accommodation. To succeed the better, they had the assurance to spread a report in Rome, by a knavish artifice unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been seized and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true, (and they declared impudently that it was so) they assumed a haughty tone in the senate, and seemed to demand a peace rather than sue for it. This shewed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reason to be offended at them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the consul soon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundless.

(t) The Romans had just before raised M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso to the consulate. In the division of the provinces, Ætolia fell by lot to Fulvius, and Asia to Manlius.

A. M.
3815.
Ant. J. C.
189.

The arrival of Cotta at Rome, who brought the particulars of the victory and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and sacrifices were appointed, by way of thanksgiving, for three days.

K 3

After

(t) Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 47---50. Ibid. n. 52---59. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. xxv. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

After this religious solemnity was over, the senate immediately gave audience, first to Eumenes, and afterwards to the ambassadors. At this audience, one of the most important affairs that had ever been brought before the senate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of Asia, was to be considered. It is well known that liberty in general is precious and dear to all men. But the Greeks in particular were inexpressibly jealous of theirs. They considered it as an estate of inheritance, which had devolved to them from their ancestors; and as a peculiar privilege that distinguished them from all other nations. And, indeed, the least attention to the Grecian history will shew, that liberty was the great motive and principle of all their enterprizes and wars; and in a manner the soul of their laws, customs, and whole frame of government. Philip, and Alexander his son, gave the first blows to it, and their successors had exceedingly abridged, and almost extirpated it. The Romans had a little before restored it to all the cities of Greece, after having reduced Philip king of Macedonia. The cities of Asia, after the defeat of Antiochus, were in hopes of the same indulgence. The Rhodians had sent ambassadors to Rome, principally to solicit that grace for the Greeks of Asia; and it was immediately the interest of king Eumenes to oppose it. This is the subject on which the senate are now to debate, and of which the decision held all Europe and Asia in suspense.

Eumenes being first admitted to audience, he opened his speech with a short compliment to the senate, for the glorious protection they had granted him, in freeing himself and his brother, when besieged in Pergamus (the capital of his kingdom) by Antiochus; and in securing his kingdom against the unjust enterprizes of that prince. He afterwards congratulated the Romans on the happy success of their arms both by sea and land; and on the famous victory they had just before gained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, as well as all Asia situated on
this

this side of mount Taurus. He added, that as to himself and the service he had endeavoured to do the Romans, he chose rather to have those things related by their generals, than by himself. The modesty of his behaviour was universally applauded; but he was desired to specify the particulars in which the senate and people of Rome could oblige him, and what he had to ask of them; assuring him, that he might rely on their good inclinations towards him. He replied, that if the choice of a recompence was proposed to him by others, and he were permitted to consult the senate, he then would be so free, as to ask that venerable body, what answer it would be proper for him to make, in order that he might not insist upon immoderate and unreasonable demands; but that, as it was from the senate that he expected to be gratified in all he should require, he thought it most adviseable to depend entirely on their generosity. He was again desired to explain himself clearly and without ambiguity. In this mutual contest between politeness and respect, Eumenes, not being able to prevail with himself to be outdone, quitted the assembly. The senate still persisted in their first resolution; and the reason they gave for it was, that the king knew what it best suited his interest to ask. He therefore was brought in again, and obliged to explain himself.

He then made the following speech. “ I should have still continued silent, did I not know that the Rhodian ambassadors, whom you will soon admit to audience, will make such demands as are directly contrary to my interest. They will plead, in your presence, the cause of all the Grecian cities of Asia, and pretend that they all ought to be declared free. Now, can it be doubted that their intention in this is, to deprive me, not only of those cities which will be delivered, but even of such as were anciently my tributaries; and that their view is, by so signal a service, to subject them effectually to themselves, under the specious title of confederate cities? They will not fail to expatiate strongly on
K 4 “ their

“ their own disinterestedness; and to say, that they
 “ do not speak for themselves, but merely for your
 “ glory and reputation. You therefore will certainly
 “ not suffer yourselves to be imposed upon by such
 “ discourse; and are far from designing, either to dis-
 “ cover an affected inequality towards your allies, by
 “ humbling some and raising others in an immoderate
 “ degree; or to allow better conditions to those who
 “ carried arms against you, than to such as have al-
 “ ways been your friends and allies. With regard to
 “ my particular pretensions, and my personal interest,
 “ these I can easily give up; but as to your kindness,
 “ and the marks of friendship with which you have
 “ been pleased to honour me, I must confess that I
 “ cannot, without pain, see others triumph over me
 “ in that particular. This is the most precious part
 “ of the inheritance I received from my father, who
 “ was the first potentate, in all Greece and Asia, that
 “ had the advantage of concluding an alliance, and
 “ of joining in friendship with you; and who culti-
 “ vated it with an inviolable constancy and fidelity to
 “ his latest breath. He was far from confining him-
 “ self in those points to mere protestations of kind-
 “ ness and good-will. In all the wars you made in
 “ Greece, whether by sea or land, he constantly fol-
 “ lowed your standards, and aided you with all his
 “ forces, with such a zeal as none of your allies can
 “ boast. It may even be said, that his attachment to
 “ your interest, in the last and strongest proof he
 “ gave of his fidelity, was the cause of his death:
 “ For the fire and vigour with which he exhorted the
 “ Bœotians to engage in alliance with you, occasioned
 “ the fatal accident that brought him to his end in a
 “ few days. I always thought it my duty to tread in
 “ his steps, firmly persuaded that nothing could be
 “ more honourable. It indeed was not possible for
 “ me to exceed him in zeal and attachment for your
 “ service: But then the posture of affairs, and the war
 “ against Antiochus, have furnished me more oppor-
 “ tunities than my father had, of giving you proofs

“ of this. That prince, who was very powerful in
“ Europe as well as Asia, offered me his daughter in
“ marriage: He engaged himself to recover all those
“ cities which had revolted from me: He promised
“ to add considerable countries to my dominions,
“ upon condition that I should join with him against
“ you. I will not assume any honour to myself from
“ not accepting offers which tended to alienate me
“ from your friendship; and indeed, how would
“ it have been possible for me to do this? I will only
“ take notice of what I thought myself bound to do
“ in your favour, as one who was your ancient friend
“ and ally. I assisted your generals both by sea and
“ land, with a far greater number of troops, as well
“ as a much larger quantity of provisions, than any
“ of your allies: I was present in all your naval en-
“ gagements, and these were many; and have spared
“ myself no toils nor dangers. I suffered the hard-
“ ships of a siege (the most grievous condition of war)
“ and was blocked up in Pergamus, exposed every
“ moment to the loss of my crown and life. Having
“ disengaged myself from this siege, whilst Antiochus
“ on one side, and Seleucus his son on the other,
“ were still encamped in my dominions; neglecting
“ entirely my own interest, I sailed with my whole
“ fleet to the Hellespont, to meet Scipio your consul,
“ purposely to assist him in passing it. I never quit-
“ ted the consul from his arrival in Asia: Not a sol-
“ dier in your camp has exerted himself more than
“ my brother and myself. I have been present in
“ every action whether of foot or horse. In the last
“ engagement, I defended the post which the consul
“ assigned me. I will not ask whether, in this parti-
“ cular, any of your allies deserve to be compared with
“ me. One thing I will be so confident as to assert,
“ that I may put myself in parallel with any of those
“ kings or states, on whom you have bestowed the
“ highest marks of your favour. Masinissa had been
“ your enemy before he became your ally. He did
“ not come over to you with powerful aids, and, at
“ a time

“ a time when he enjoyed the full possession of his
“ kingdom; but an exile, driven from his kingdom;
“ plundered of all his possessions, and deprived of
“ all his forces, he fled to your camp, with a squadron
“ of horse, in order to seek an asylum as well as aid
“ in his misfortunes. Nevertheless, because he has
“ since served you faithfully against Syphax and the
“ Carthaginians, you have not only restored him to
“ the throne of his ancestors; but, by bestowing on
“ him great part of Syphax’s kingdom, you have
“ made him one of the most powerful monarchs of
“ Africa. What therefore may we not expect from
“ your liberality; we, who have ever been your allies,
“ and never your enemies? My father, my brothers,
“ and myself, have, on all occasions, drawn our sword
“ in your cause, both by sea and land; not only in
“ Asia, but at a great distance from our native coun-
“ try, in Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and Ætolia, during
“ the wars against Philip, Antiochus, and the Æto-
“ lians. Perhaps some one may ask, what are your
“ pretensions? Since you force me to explain myself,
“ they are as follow. If, in repulsing Antiochus
“ beyond mount Taurus, your intention was to seize
“ upon that country, in order to unite it to your em-
“ pire, I could not wish for better neighbours, none
“ being more able to secure my dominions. But if
“ you are resolved to resign it, and to recall your
“ armies from thence, I dare presume to say, that
“ none of your allies deserve advantages from you
“ better than myself. Yet (some may observe) it is
“ great and glorious to deliver cities from slavery,
“ and to restore them their liberty. I grant it, pro-
“ vided they had never exercised hostilities against
“ you. But then, if they have been so far attached
“ to Antiochus’s interest, will it not be much more
“ worthy of your wisdom and justice, to bestow your
“ favours on allies who have served you faithfully,
“ than on enemies who have used their endeavours to
“ destroy you?”

The senate was exceedingly pleased with the king's harangue; and shewed evidently, that they were determined to do every thing for him in their power.

The Rhodians were afterwards admitted to audience. The person who spoke in their name, after repeating the origin of their amity with the Romans, and the services they had done them, first in the war against Philip, and afterwards in that against Antiochus: "Nothing, says he (directing himself to the senators) grieves us so much at this time, as to find ourselves obliged to engage in a dispute with Eumenes, that prince, for whom, of all princes, both our republick and ourselves have the most faithful and most cordial respect. The circumstance which divides and separates us on this occasion, does not proceed from a disparity of minds, but from a difference of conditions. We are free, and Eumenes is a king. It is natural that we, being a free people, should plead for the liberty of others; and that kings should endeavour to make all things pay homage to their sovereign sway. However this be, the circumstance which perplexes us on this occasion, is, not so much the affair in itself, which seems to be of such a nature, that you cannot be very much divided in opinion about it, as the regard we ought to show to so august a prince as Eumenes. If there was no other way of acknowledging the important services of a king, your confederate and ally, but in subjecting free cities to his power, you then might be doubtful; from the fear you might be under, either of not discovering gratitude enough towards a prince who is your friend; or of renouncing your principles, and the glory you have acquired in the war against Philip, by restoring all the Grecian cities to their liberty. But fortune has put you in such a condition, as not to fear either of those inconveniences. The immortal gods be praised, the victory you have so lately gained, by which you acquire no less riches than glory, enables you to acquit yourselves easily of what you call a
" debt.

“ debt. Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, all Pisidia,
“ Cherfonefus, and the country contiguous to it, are
“ subjected by you. One of these provinces is alone
“ capable of enlarging considerably the dominions of
“ Eumenes; but all of them together will equal him
“ to the most powerful kings. You therefore may,
“ at one and the same time, recompence very largely
“ your allies, and not depart from the maxims which
“ form the glory of your empire. The same motive
“ prompted you to march against Philip and Antio-
“ chus. As the cause is the same, the like issue is
“ expected; not only because you yourselves have al-
“ ready set the example, but because your honour re-
“ quires it. Others engage in war, merely to dis-
“ possess their neighbours of some country, some city,
“ fortrefs, or sea-port; but you, O Romans, never
“ draw the sword from such motives; when you
“ fight, it is for glory; and it is this circumstance in-
“ spires all nations with a reverence and awe for your
“ name and empire, almost equal to that which is
“ paid the gods. The business is to preserve that
“ glory. You have undertaken to rescue, from the
“ bondage of kings, and to restore to its ancient li-
“ berty, a nation famous for its antiquity; and still
“ more renowned for its glorious actions, and its ex-
“ quisite taste for the polite arts and sciences. It is
“ the whole nation you have taken under your pro-
“ tection, and you have promised it them to the end
“ of time. The cities situated in Greece itself, are
“ not more Grecian than the colonies they settled in
“ Asia. A change of country has not wrought any
“ alteration in our origin or manners. All the Greek
“ cities in Asia have endeavoured to rival our ances-
“ tors and founders, in virtue and in knowledge.
“ Many persons in this assembly have seen the cities
“ of Greece and those of Asia: The only difference
“ is, that we are situated at a farther distance from
“ Rome. If a difference in climate should change
“ the nature and disposition of men, the inhabitants
“ of Marseilles, surrounded as they are with ignorant
“ and

“ and barbarous nations, should necessarily have long
“ since degenerated; and yet we are informed that
“ you have as great a regard for them, as if they lived
“ in the center of Greece. And indeed, they have
“ retained, not only the sound of the language, the
“ dress, and the whole exterior of the Greeks; but
“ have also preserved still more their manners, laws,
“ and genius, and all these pure and uncorrupted, by
“ their correspondence with the neighbouring nations.
“ Mount Taurus is now the boundary of your empire.
“ Every country on this side of it, ought not to appear
“ remote from you. Wherever you have carried
“ your arms, convey thither also the genius and form
“ of your government. Let the Barbarians, who are
“ accustomed to slavery, continue under the empire of
“ kings, since it is grateful to them. The Greeks, in
“ the mediocrity of their present condition, think it
“ glorious to imitate your exalted sentiments. Born
“ and nurtured in liberty, they know you will not
“ deem it a crime in them to be jealous of it, as you
“ yourselves are so. Formerly, their own strength
“ was sufficient to secure empire to them; but now,
“ they implore the gods that it may be enjoyed for
“ ever by those people, with whom they have placed
“ it. All they desire is, that you would be pleased to
“ protect, by the power of your arms, their liberties,
“ as they are now no longer able to defend them by
“ their own. But, says somebody, some of those
“ cities have favoured Antiochus. Had not the others
“ favoured Philip also; and the Tarentines, Pyrrhus?
“ To cite but one people, Carthage, your enemy as
“ well as rival, enjoys its liberties and laws. Consider,
“ O Romans, the engagements which this example
“ lays you under. Will you indulge to Eumenes's
“ ambition (I beg his pardon for the expression) what
“ you refused to your own just indignation? As for
“ us Rhodians, in this, as well as in all the wars
“ which you have carried on in our countries, we
“ have endeavoured to behave as good and faithful
“ allies; and you are to judge whether we have really
“ been

“ been such. Now we enjoy peace, we are so free
 “ as to give you a counsel which must necessarily be
 “ glorious to you. If you follow it, it will demon-
 “ strate to the universe, that however nobly you ob-
 “ tain victories, you yet know how to make a nobler
 “ use of them.”

It was impossible to forbear applauding this speech, and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur. The senate found itself on this occasion divided and opposed by different sentiments and duties, of whose importance and justice they were sensible, but which, at the same time, it was difficult to reconcile on this occasion. On one side, gratitude, with regard to the services of a king, who had adhered to them with inviolable zeal and fidelity, made a strong impression on their minds: On the other, they earnestly wished to have it thought, that the sole view of their undertaking this war was, to restore the Grecian cities to their liberty. It must be confessed, that the motives on both sides were exceedingly strong. The restoring of every part of Greece to its liberties and laws, after Philip's defeat, had acquired the Romans a reputation infinitely superior to all other triumphs. But then it would be dangerous to displease so powerful a prince as Eumenes; and it was the interest of the Romans to bring over other kings to their side, by the attractive charms of advantage. However, the wisdom of the senate knew how to conciliate these different duties.

Antiochus's ambassadors were brought in after those of Rhodes, and all they requested of the senate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their desire, and accordingly, some days after, it also was ratified in the assembly of the people.

The ambassadors of the Asiatick cities were likewise heard, and the answer made them was, that the senate would dispatch, pursuant to their usual custom, ten commissioners to enquire into, and settle the affairs of Asia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Mysia, should thenceforward

be subject to king Eumenes. The Rhodians were allotted the possession of Lycia, and that part of Caria which lies nearest to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia. In both these distributions, such cities were excepted as enjoyed their freedom, before the battle fought against Antiochus. It was enacted, that the rest of the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, should also pay it to Eumenes; and that such as had been tributaries to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this new regulation. The latter requested as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soles, a city of Cilicia, descended originally, as well as themselves, from the people of Argos, might be restored to their liberty. The senate, after consulting Antiochus's ambassadors on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent opposition which those ambassadors had made to their request; because Soles, as situated beyond mount Taurus, was not included in the treaty. However, that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to overcome their repugnance. The Rhodians, returning the most hearty thanks once more to the Romans, for the great favours they vouchsafed them, answered, that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly satisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Regillus, who had gained a victory at sea over the admiral of Antiochus's fleet; and still more justly to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in person. He assumed the surname of Asiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to those of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war against Antiochus, which was not of long duration, cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed very much to the aggrandizing of their empire. But, at the same time, this victory contributed also, in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the
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the wealth it brought into it, a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures; for it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conquest of Asia, that (u) Pliny dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the republick of Rome, and the fatal changes which ensued it. Asia *, vanquished by the Roman arms, afterwards vanquished Rome by its vices. Foreign wealth extinguished in that city a love for the ancient poverty and simplicity, in which its strength and honour had consisted. † Luxury, that in a manner entered Rome in triumph with the superb spoils of Asia, brought with her in her train irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater havock in the city than the mightiest armies could have done, and in that manner avenged the conquered globe.

Reflection on the conduct of the Romans with regard to the Grecian states, and the kings both of Europe and Asia.

THE reader begins to discover, in the events before related, one of the principal characteristics of the Romans, which will soon determine the fate of all the states of Greece, and produce an almost general change in the universe, I mean, a spirit of sovereignty and dominion. This characteristic does not display itself at first in its full extent; it reveals itself only by degrees; and it is but by insensible progressions, which at the same time are rapid enough, that we see it carried at last to its greatest height.

It must be confessed, that this people, on certain occasions, shew such a moderation and disinterestedness, as (to consider them only from their outside) exceed every thing we meet with in history, and to which

(u) Plin. l. xiii. c. 3.

* Armis vicit, vitiis victus est.

Senec. de Alex.

† Prima peregrinos obscena pecunia mores
Intulit, & turpi fregerunt secula luxu
Divitiæ molles——

Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit——

Sævior armis

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

Juven. Lib. ii. Satyr. 6.

which it seems inconsistent to refuse praise. Was there ever a more delightful or more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war; after crossing seas, and exhausting their treasures; caused a herald to proclaim, in a general assembly, that the Roman people restored all the cities to their liberty; and desired to reap no other fruit by their victory, than the noble pleasure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whose ancient glory sufficed to endear them to the Romans? The description of that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a kind of enthusiasm of esteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian states proceeded merely from a principle of generosity, void of all interested motives; had the whole tenor of the conduct of the Romans been of the same nature with such exalted sentiments; nothing could possibly have been more august, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But if we penetrate ever so little beyond this glaring outside, we soon perceive, that this specious moderation of the Romans was entirely founded upon a profound policy; wise indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but, at the same time, very remote from that noble disinterestedness, so highly extolled on the present occasion. It may be affirmed, that the Grecians then abandoned themselves to a stupid joy; fondly imagining that they were really free, because the Romans declared them so.

Greece, in the times I am now speaking of, was divided between two powers; I mean the Grecian republicks and Macedonia; and they were always engaged in war; the former, to preserve the remains of their ancient liberty; and the latter, to complete their subjection. The Romans, being perfectly well acquainted with this state of Greece, were sensible, that they needed not be under any apprehensions from those little republicks, which were grown weak through length of years, by intestine feuds, mutual jealousies,

and the wars they had been forced to support against foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was possessed of well-disciplined troops, inured to all the toils of war, which had continually in view the glory of its former monarchs; which had formerly extended its conquests to the extremities of the globe; which still harboured an ardent, though chimerical desire of attaining universal empire; and which had a kind of natural alliance with the kings of Egypt and Syria, sprung from the same origin, and united by the common interests of monarchy: Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to Rome, which, from the ruin of Carthage, had no obstacles left with regard to their ambitious designs, but those powerful kingdoms that shared the rest of the world between them, and especially Macedonia, as it lay nearest to Italy.

To balance therefore the power of Macedon, and to dispossess Philip of the aids he flattered himself he should receive from the Greeks, which, indeed, had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppose this common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans; in this view, I say, this latter people declared loudly in favour of those republicks; made it their glory to take them under their protection, and that with no other design, in outward appearance, than to defend them against their oppressors; and farther to attach them by a still stronger tie, they hung out to them a specious bait, (as a reward for their fidelity) I mean liberty, of which all the republicks in question were inexpressibly jealous; and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually disputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and swallowed very greedily by the generality of the Greeks, whose views penetrated no farther. But the most judicious and most clear-sighted among them discovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait; and accordingly they exhorted the people from time to time, in their publick assemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the West; and which,

changing

changing on a sudden into a dreadful tempest, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter destruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable than the conduct of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmost moderation towards such states and nations as addressed them for protection; they succoured them against their enemies; took the utmost pains in terminating their differences, and in suppressing all troubles which arose amongst them; and did not demand the least recompence for all these services done their allies. By this means their authority gained strength daily, and prepared the nations for entire subjection.

And indeed, upon pretence of offering them their good offices, of entering into their interests, and of reconciling them, they rendered themselves the sovereign arbiters of those whom they had restored to liberty; and whom they now considered, in some measure, as their freedmen. They used to depute commissioners to them, to enquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reasons on both sides, and to decide their quarrels: But when the articles were of such a nature, that there was no possibility of reconciling them on the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. But afterwards they used to summon those who refused to be reconciled; obliged them to plead their cause before the senate, and even to appear in person there. From arbiters and mediators, being become supreme judges, they soon assumed a magisterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were greatly offended when the most implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a second resistance: Thus there arose, in the Roman senate, a tribunal, which judged all nations and kings, from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and punishments due to all parties. They dispossessed the vanquished nations of part of their territories, in order to bestow them on their allies, by

which they did two things, from which they reaped a double advantage; for they thereby engaged in the interest of Rome, such kings as were no ways formidable to them; and weakened others, whose friendship the Romans could not expect, and whose arms they had reason to dread.

We shall hear one of the chief magistrates in the republick of the Achæans inveigh strongly in a publick assembly against this unjust usurpation, and ask by what title the Romans are empowered to assume so haughty an ascendant over them; whether their republick was not as free and independent as that of Rome; by what right the latter pretended to force the Achæans to account for their conduct; whether they would be pleased, should the Achæans, in their turn, officiously pretend to enquire into their affairs; and whether matters ought not to be on the same foot on both sides? All these reflections were very reasonable, just, and unanswerable; and the Romans had no advantage in the question but force.

They acted in the same manner, and their politicks were the same, with regard to their treatment of kings. They first won over to their interest such among them as were the weakest, and consequently the least formidable: They gave them the title of allies, whereby their persons were rendered in some measure sacred and inviolable; and was a kind of safeguard against other kings more powerful than themselves: They increased their revenues, and enlarged their territories, to let them see what they might expect from their protection. It was this raised the kingdom of Pergamus to so exalted a pitch of grandeur.

After this, the Romans invaded, upon different pretences, those great potentates, who divided Europe and Asia. And, how haughtily did they treat them, even before they had conquered! A powerful king, confined within a narrow circle by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his answer before he quitted it: How imperious was this! But then, how did they treat vanquished kings? They command them to deliver

deliver up their children, and the heirs to their crown, as hostages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour; oblige them to lay down their arms; forbid them to declare war, or conclude any alliance without first obtaining their leave; banish them to the other side of the mountains; and leave them, in strictness of speech, only an empty title, and a vain shadow of royalty, divested of all its rights and advantages.

We are not to doubt, but that Providence had decreed to the Romans the sovereignty of the world; and the scriptures had prophesied their future grandeur: But they were strangers to those divine oracles; and besides, the bare prediction of their conquests was no justification with regard to them. Although it be difficult to affirm, and still more so to prove, that this people had, from their first rise, formed a plan, in order to conquer and subject all nations; it cannot be denied but that, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, it will appear that they acted as if they had a fore-knowledge of this; and that a kind of instinct determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it will, we see, by the event, to what this so-much-boasted lenity and moderation of the Romans was confined. Enemies to the liberty of all nations; having the utmost contempt for kings and monarchy; looking upon the whole universe as their prey, they grasped, with insatiable ambition, the conquest of the whole world: They seized indiscriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations; in a word, they prescribed no other limits to their vast projects, but those which deserts and seas made it impossible to pass.

SECT. VIII. *FULVIUS the consul subdues the Ætolians. The Spartans are cruelly treated by their exiles. MANLIUS, the other consul, conquers the Asiatick Gauls. ANTIOCHUS, in order to pay the tribute due to the Romans, plunders a temple in Elymais. That monarch is killed. Explication of DANIEL's prophecy concerning ANTIOCHUS.*

A. M. 3815.
Ant. J. C. 189.
(a) **D**URING the expedition of the Romans in Asia, some emotions had happened in Greece. Amynder, by the aid of the Ætolians, was restored to his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garrisons that held them for king Philip. He deputed some ambassadors to the senate of Rome; and others into Asia to the two Scipioes, who were then at Ephesus, after their signal victory over Antiochus, to excuse his having employed the arms of the Ætolians against Philip, and also to make his complaints of that prince.

The Ætolians had likewise undertaken some enterprises against Philip, in which they had met with tolerable success: But, when they heard of Antiochus's defeat, and found that the ambassadors they had sent to Rome were returning from thence, without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius the consul was actually marching against them, they were seized with real alarms. Finding it would be impossible for them to resist the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourse to intreaties; and, in order to enforce them, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambassadors to those whom they were going to send to Rome, in order to sue for peace.

The consul being arrived in Greece, he, in conjunction with the Epirots, had laid siege to Ambracia, in which was a strong garrison of Ætolians, who had made a vigorous defence. However, being at last persuaded that it would be impossible for them to hold out long against the Roman arms, they sent new ambassadors

(a) Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 1---11. Polyb. in Excerpt. Leg. c. 26---28.

bassadors to the consul, investing them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Those which were proposed to them being judged exceedingly severe, the ambassadors, notwithstanding their full powers, desired that leave might be granted them to consult the assembly once more; but the members of it were displeased with them for it, and therefore sent them back, with orders to terminate the affair. During this interval, the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors, whom the senate had sent back to the consul, were come to him, to whom Amynander had also repaired. The latter having great credit in the city of Ambracia, where he had spent many years of his banishment, prevailed with the inhabitants to surrender themselves at last to the consul. A peace was also granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follow: They should first deliver up their arms and horses to the Romans: Should pay them one thousand talents of silver, (about an hundred and fifty thousand pounds) half to be paid down directly: Should restore to both the Romans, and their allies, all the deserters and prisoners: Should look upon, as their enemies and friends, all those who were such to the Romans: In fine, should give up forty hostages, to be chosen by the consul. Their ambassadors being arrived in Rome, to ratify the treaty there, they found the people highly exasperated against the Ætolians, as well on account of their past conduct, as the complaints made against them by Philip, in his letters written on that head. At last, however, the senate were moved by their entreaties, and those of the ambassadors of Athens and Rhodes, who concurred in them, and therefore they ratified the treaty conformably to the conditions which the consuls had prescribed. The Ætolians were permitted to pay in gold the sum imposed on them, in such a manner, that every piece of gold should be estimated at ten times the value of ten pieces of silver of the same weight, which shows the proportion between gold and silver at that time.

(b) Fulvius the consul, after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, crossed into the island of Cephalenia, in order to subdue it. All the cities, at the first summons, surrendered immediately. The inhabitants of Same only, after submitting to the conqueror, were sorry for what they had done, and accordingly shut their gates against the Romans, which obliged them to besiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, insomuch that it was four months before the consul could take it.

From thence he went to Peloponnesus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

The general assembly of the Achæans had from time immemorial been held at Ægium: But Philopœmen, who then was an officer of state, resolved to change that custom, and to cause the assembly to be held successively in all the cities which formed the Achæan league; and, that very year, he summoned it to Argos. The consul would not oppose this motion; and though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, because he thought their cause the most just; yet, seeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the assembly, without declaring his opinion.

(c) But the affair relating to Sparta was still more intricate, and, at the same time, of greater importance. Those who had been banished from that city by Nabis the tyrant, had fortified themselves in towns and castles along the coast, and from thence infested the Spartans. The latter had attacked, in the night, one of those towns, called Las, and carried it, but were soon after drove out of it. This enterprize alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourse to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who at that time was in employment, secretly favoured the exiles; and endeavoured, on all occasions, to lessen the credit and authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted,

enacted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans, having put the towns and castles of the sea-coast of Laconia under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbid the Lacedæmonians access to it; and the latter having, however, attacked the town called Las, and killed some of the inhabitants; the Achæan assembly demanded that the contrivers of that massacre should be delivered up to them; and that otherwise they should be declared violaters of the treaty. Ambassadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand, made in so haughty a tone, exceedingly exasperated the Lacedæmonians. They immediately put to death thirty of those who had held a correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles; dissolved their alliance with the Achæans; and sent ambassadors to Fulvius the consul, who was then in Cephallenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to intreat him to come and take possession of it. When the Achæans received advice of what had been transacted in Sparta, they unanimously declared war against that city, which began by some slight incursions both by sea and land; the season being too far advanced for undertaking any thing considerable.

The consul, being arrived in Peloponnesus, heard both parties in a publick assembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and carried to a great height on both sides. Without coming to any determination, the first thing he did was, to command them to lay down their arms, and to send their respective ambassadors to Rome; and accordingly they repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The league with the Achæans was in great consideration at Rome, but, at the same time, the Romans did not care to disgust the Lacedæmonians entirely. The senate therefore returned an obscure and ambiguous answer (which has not come down to us) whereby the Achæans might flatter themselves, that they were allowed full power to infest Sparta; and the Spartans, that such power was very much limited and restrained.

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The Achæans extended it as they thought proper. Philopoemen had been continued in his employment of first magistrate. He marched the army to a small distance from Sparta without loss of time; and again demanded to have those persons surrendered to him, who had concerted the enterprize against the town of Las; declaring that they should not be condemned or punished till after being heard. Upon this promise, those who had been nominated expressly set out, accompanied by several of the most illustrious citizens, who looked upon their cause as their own, or rather as that of the publick. Being arrived at the camp of the Achæans, they were greatly surprized to see the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to them with an insulting air, and began to vent the most injurious expressions against them; after this, the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated them very ignominiously. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claimed the right of nations: The rabble of the Achæans, animated by the seditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithstanding the protection due to ambassadors, and in spite of the prohibition of the supreme magistrate. Seventeen were immediately stoned to death, and seventy-three rescued by the magistrate out of the hands of those furious wretches. It was not that he intended, in any manner, to pardon them; but he would not have it said, that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day, they were brought before that enraged multitude, who, almost without so much as hearing them, condemned, and executed them all.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so unjust, so cruel a treatment, threw the Spartans into the deepest affliction, and filled them with alarms. The Achæans imposed the same conditions upon them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by storm. They gave orders that the walls should be demolished; that all such mercenaries as the tyrants had

kept

kept in their service, should leave Laconia; that the slaves whom those tyrants had set at liberty (and there were a great number of them) should also be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being seized by the Achæans, and sold or carried wheresoever they thought proper; that the laws and institutions of Lycurgus should be annulled. In fine, that the Spartans should be associated in the Achæan league, with whom they should thenceforth form but one body, and follow the same customs and usages.

The Lacedæmonians were not much afflicted at the demolition of their walls; with which they began the execution of the orders prescribed them: And indeed it was no great misfortune to them. * Sparta had long subsisted without any other walls or defence but the bravery of its citizens. (d) Pausanias informs us, that the walls of Sparta were begun to be † built in the time of the inroads of Demetrius, and afterwards of Pyrrhus; but that they had been completed by Nabis. Livy relates also, that the tyrants, for their own security, had fortified with walls, all such parts of the city as were most open and accessible. The Spartans were therefore not much grieved at the demolition of these walls. But it was with inexpressible regret they saw the exiles, that had caused its destruction, returning into it, and who might justly be considered as its most cruel enemies. Sparta, enervated by this last blow, lost all its pristine vigour, and was for many years dependent on, and subjected to the Achæans. ‡ The most fatal circumstance with regard to

(d) In Achaiac. p. 412.

* Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque objecerant murum: altiora loca & difficiliora aditu stationibus armatorum munimento objectis tutabantur. Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 38.

Spartani urbem, quam semper armis non muris defenderant, tum contra responsa fatorum & veterem majorum gloriam, armis diffusi, murorum præsidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse à ma-

joribus, ut cum multis seculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerit, tunc cives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra muros laterant. Justin. l. xiv. c. 5.

† Justin informs us, that Sparta was fortified with walls, at the time that Cassander meditated the invasion of Greece.

‡ Nulla res tanto erat damno, quam disciplina Lycurgi, cui per septingentos annos aslueverant, sublata. Liv.

to Sparta was, the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force seven hundred years, and had been the source of all its grandeur and glory.

This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as Sparta, does Philopœmen no honour, but, on the contrary, seems to be a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who justly ranks him among the greatest captains of Greece, does but just glance at this action, and says only a word or two of it. It must indeed be confessed, that the cause of the exiles was favourable in itself. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged; and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants; but so open a violation of the law of nations, (to which Philopœmen gave at least occasion, if he did not consent to it) cannot be excused in any manner.

(e) It appears, from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedæmonians made complaints at Rome against Philopœmen, as having, by this equally unjust and cruel action, defied the power of the republick of Rome, and insulted its majesty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard. At last, A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Lepidus the consul writ a letter to the Achæan confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedæmonians had met with. However, Philopœmen and the Achæans sent an ambassador, Nicodemus of Elis, to Rome, to justify their conduct.

(f) In the same campaign, and almost at the same time that Fulvius the consul terminated the war with the Ætolians, Manlius, the other consul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elsewhere, of the inroad those nations had made into different countries of Europe and Asia under Brennus. The Gauls in question had settled in that part of Asia minor, called, from their name, Gallo-Græcia, or Gallatia; and formed three bodies, three different states, the Tolistobogi, the Trocni, and Tectosages. These had made themselves formidable to all the nations round,

(e) Polyb. in Legat. c. xxxvii. (f) Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 12—27.
Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. 29—35.

round, and spread terror and alarms on all sides. The pretence made use of for declaring war against them, was, their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had resigned the command of his army to Manlius, the latter set out from Ephesus, and marched against the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been then at Rome, he would have been of great service to him in his march; however, his brother Attalus supplied his place, and was the consul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had subdued by the power of their arms, and had not met with the least opposition. Manlius judged that it would be necessary to harangue his forces on this occasion, before they engaged the enemy. "I am no ways surprized," says he, "that the Gauls should have made their names formidable to, and spread the strongest terror in the minds of nations, of so soft and effeminate a cast as the Asiatics. Their tall stature, their fair, flowing hair, which descends to their waists; their unwieldy bucklers, their long swords: Add to this, their songs, their cries and howlings, at the first onset; the dreadful clashing of their arms and shields: All this may, indeed, intimidate men not accustomed to them, but not you, O Romans, whose victorious arms have so often triumphed over that nation. Besides, experience has taught you, that after the Gauls have spent their first fire, an obstinate resistance blunts the edge of their courage, as well as their bodily strength; and that then, quite incapable of supporting the heat of the sun, fatigue, dust and thirst, their arms fall from their hands, and they sink down quite tired and exhausted. Do not imagine these the ancient Gauls, inured to fatigues and dangers. The luxurious plenty of the country they have invaded, the soft temperature of the air they breathe, the effeminacy and delicacy of the people among whom they inhabit, have entirely enervated them. They now are no more than Phrygians, in Gallick armour;

" and

“ and the only circumstance I fear is, that you will
 “ not reap much honour by the defeat of a rabble of
 “ enemies, so unworthy of disputing victory with
 “ Romans.”

It was a general opinion, with regard to the ancient Gauls, that a sure way to conquer them, was, to let them exhaust their first fire, which immediately was deadened by opposition; and that when once this edge of their vivacity was blunted, they had lost all strength and vigour: That their bodies were even incapable of sustaining the slightest fatigues long, or of withstanding the sun-beams, when they darted with ever so little violence: That, as they were more than men in the beginning of an action, they were less than women at the conclusion of it. (g) *Gallos primo impetu feroces esse, quos sustinere satis sit—Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantissima laboris atque æstus fluere; primaque eorum prælia plus quàm virorum, postrema minùs quàm feminarum esse.*

Those who are not acquainted with the genius and character of the modern French, entertain very near the same idea of them. However, the late transactions in Italy, and especially on the Rhine, must have undeceived them in that particular. Though I am very much prejudiced in favour of the Greeks and Romans, I question whether they ever discovered greater patience, resolution and bravery, than the French did at the siege of Philipsburg. I do not speak merely of the generals and officers; courage being natural to, and in a manner inherent in them: But even the common soldiers shewed such an ardour, intrepidity, and greatness of soul, as amazed the generals. The sight of an army, formidable by its numbers, and still more so by the fame and abilities of the prince who commanded it, served only to animate them the more. During the whole course of this long and laborious siege, in which they suffered so much by the fire of the besieged, and the heat of the sun; by the violence of the rains and inundations of the Rhine; they never
 once

once breathed the least murmur or complaint. They were seen wading through great floods, where they were up to the shoulders in water, carrying their clothes and arms over their heads, and afterwards marching, quite uncovered, on the outside of the trenches full of water, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; and then advancing with intrepidity to the front of the attack, demanding, with the loudest shouts, that the enemy should not be allowed capitulation of any kind; and to dread no other circumstance, but their being denied the opportunity of signalizing their courage and zeal still more, by storming the city. What I now relate is universally known. The most noble sentiments of honour, bravery and intrepidity, must necessarily have taken deep root in the minds of our countrymen; otherwise, they could not have roused at once so gloriously in a first campaign, after having been in a manner asleep during a twenty-year's peace.

The testimony which Lewis XV. thought it incumbent on him to give them, is so glorious to the nation, and even reflects so bright a lustre on the king, that I am persuaded none of my readers will be displeased to find it inserted here entire. If this digression is not allowable in a history like this, methinks it is pardonable, and even laudable in a Frenchman, fired with zeal for his king and country.

The King's Letter to the Marshal D'ASFELDT.

COUSIN,

I Am entirely sensible of the important service you have done me in taking Philippsburg. Nothing less than your courage and resolution could have surmounted the obstacles to that enterprize, occasioned by the inundations of the Rhine. You have had the satisfaction to see your example inspire the officers and soldiers with the same sentiments. I caused an account to be sent me daily, of all the transactions of that siege, and always observed, that the ardour and patience of my troops increased in proportion

to

to the difficulties that arose either from the swelling of the floods, the presence of the enemy, or the fire of the place. Every kind of success may be expected from so valiant a nation: And I enjoin you to inform the general-officers and others, and even the whole army, that I am highly satisfied with them. You need not doubt my having the same sentiments with regard to you; to assure you of which is the sole motive of this letter; and (Confin) I beseech the Almighty to have you in his keeping, and direct you.

Verfailles, July 23, 1734.

I now return to the history. After Manlius had ended the speech repeated above, the army discovered, by their shouts, how impatiently they desired to be led against the enemy; and accordingly the consul entered their territories. The Gauls did not once suspect that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay so remote from them, and therefore were not prepared to oppose them. But notwithstanding this, they made a long and vigorous resistance. They laid wait for Manlius in defiles; disputed the passes with him; shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses, and retired to such eminences as they thought inaccessible. However, the consul, so far from being discouraged, followed, and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them separately, stormed their cities, and defeated them in several engagements. I shall not descend to particulars, which were of little importance, and consequently would only tire the reader. The Gauls were obliged at last to submit, and to confine themselves within the limits prescribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrors it was under from those Barbarians, who hitherto had done nothing but harass and plunder their neighbours. So happy a tranquillity was restored on this side, that the empire of the Romans was established there from the river Halys to mount Taurus; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Asia minor. (b) We are told

(b) Cic. Orat. pro Dejot. n. 36. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

told that * Antiochus said, on this occasion, that he was highly obliged to the Romans, for having freed him from the cares and troubles which the government of so vast an extent of country must necessarily have brought upon him.

(i) Fulvius, one of the consuls, returned to Rome, in order to preside in the assembly. The consulate was given to M. Valerius Messala, and C. Livius Salinator. The instant the assembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. Himself and Manlius his colleague were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconsuls.

A. M.
3816.
Ant. J. C.
188.

Manlius had repaired to Ephesus, to settle, with the ten commissioners who had been appointed by the senate, the most important articles of their commission. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as also that which Manlius had concluded with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been sentenced to pay the Romans six hundred talents (six hundred thousand crowns) for having assisted Antiochus; however, half this sum was accepted at the request of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a present to Eumenes, of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He repassed into Europe with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the several cities to audience, and settled the chief difficulties.

(k) Antiochus was very much puzzled how to raise the sum he was to pay the Romans. He made a progress through the eastern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him; and left the regency of Syria, during his absence, to Seleucus his son, whom he had declared his presumptive heir. Being arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed that there was a very considerable treasure in the temple of Jupiter.

A. M.
3817.
Ant. J. C.
187.

VOL. VI.

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(i) Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 35.

Justin. l. xxxiii. c. 2. Hieron. in Dan. cap. xi.

* Antiochus magnus — dicere est solitus, benignè sibi à populo Romano esse factum, quod nimis

(k) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 298.

magna procuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur. Cic.

piter Belus. This was a strong temptation to a prince who had little regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a false pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled against him, he entered the temple in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there very religiously during a long series of years. However, the people exasperated by this sacrilege, rebelled against him, and murdered him with all his followers. (l) Aurelius Victor says that he was killed by some of his own officers, whom he had beat one day when he was heated with liquor.

This prince was highly worthy of praise for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his subjects permission, and even commanded them not to obey his ordinances, in case they should be found to interfere with the laws, shows that he had a high regard for justice. Till the age of fifty he had behaved, on all occasions, with such bravery, prudence, and application, as had given success to all his enterprizes, and acquired him the title of the *Great*. But from that time, his wisdom, as well as application, had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war against the Romans; the little advantage he reaped by, or rather contempt for the wise counsels of Hannibal; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept: These circumstances sullied the glory of his former successes; and his death, occasioned by a wicked and sacrilegious enterprize, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the 10th to the 19th verse, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accomplished.

(m) *But his sons (of the king of the North) shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: And one (Antiochus the Great) shall certainly come and overflow, and pass through: Then shall he return, and be stirred up even to his fortrefs.* (n) This king of the North

(l) De viris illust. cap. liv.

(m) Ver. 10.

(n) See ver. 8.

North was Seleucus Callinicus, who left behind him two sons, Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus, afterwards surnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter, after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war against Ptolemy Philopator, king of the South, that is, of Egypt; dispossessed him of Coelosyria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province; defeated Ptolemy's generals in the narrow passes near Berytus, and made himself master of part of Phœnicia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuse him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is still more expressive. *He (meaning Antiochus) shall come. He shall overflow the enemy's country. He shall pass over mount Libanus. He shall halt*, whilst overtures of peace are making him. *He shall advance with ardour as far as the fortresses*, that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verses.

(o) *And the king of the South shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the North: And he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand.* Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent, effeminate prince. It was necessary to excite and drag him, in a manner, out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take up arms, and repulse the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country: *Provocatus*. At last he put himself at the head of his troops; and by the valour and good conduct of his generals, obtained a signal victory over Antiochus at Raphia.

(p) *And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it.* Antiochus lost upwards of ten thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and four thousand of his men were taken prisoners. Philopator, having marched after his victory to Jerusalem, was so audacious as to attempt

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to enter the sanctuary, *his heart shall be lifted up*; and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmost pride towards the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have dispossessed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himself with recovering Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and again plunged into his former excesses; *but he shall not be strengthened by it.*

(q) *For the king of the North shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come (after certain years) with a great army, and with much riches.* Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raised a great army in those provinces. Finding, fourteen years after the conclusion of the first war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or six years of age, had succeeded Philopator his father; he united with Philip king of Macedon, in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas at Panium, near the source of the river Jordan, he subjected the whole country which Philopator had conquered, by the victory he gained at Raphia.

(r) *And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the South.* This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of Macedonia and Syria against the infant monarch of Egypt: By the conspiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency; and by that of Scopas, to dispossess him of his crown and life. * *Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall.* Several apostate Jews, to ingratiate themselves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him, but it was not long-lived; for when Antiochus regained possession of Judea and Jerusalem, he either extirpated, or drove out of the country all the partisans

(q) Ver. 13.

(r) Ver. 14.

* The angel Gabriel here speaks to Daniel.

partisans of Ptolemy. This subjection of the Jews to the sovereignty of the kings of Syria, prepared the way for the accomplishment of the prophecy, which denounced the calamities that Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occasioned a great number of them to fall into apostacy.

(s) *So the king of the North shall come, and cast up a msunt, and take the most fenced cities, and the arms of the South shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand——*

(t) *But he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: And he shall stand in the glorious land which by his hand shall be consumed.* Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Paneas, besieged and took, first Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops which the king of Egypt had sent against him. *He did according to his own will*, in Cœlosyria and Palestine, and nothing was able to make the least resistance against him. Pursuing his conquests in Palestine, he entered Judea, *that glorious*, or, according to the Hebrew, *that desirable land*. He there established his authority; and strengthened it, by repulsing from the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had thrown into it. This garrison being so well defended, that Antiochus was obliged to send for all his troops in order to force it; and the siege continuing a long time, the country was ruined and *consumed* by the stay the army was obliged to make in it.

(u) *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: Thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her: But she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.* Antiochus seeing that the Romans undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would best suit his interest to lull the king asleep,

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by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to *corrupt her*, and excite her to betray her husband: But he was not successful in his design; for as soon as she was married to Ptolemy, she renounced her father's interests, and embraced those of her husband. It was on this account that we see her * join with him in the embassy which was sent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.

(x) *After this he shall turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: But a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach which Antiochus had offered him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him.* Antiochus having put an end to the war of Cœlosyria and Palestine, sent his two sons, at the head of the land-army, to Sardis, whilst himself embarked on board the fleet, and sailed to the Ægean sea, where he took several islands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that side. However, *the prince* of the people, whom he had insulted by making this invasion, that is, L. Scipio the Roman consul, *caused the reproach to turn upon him*; by defeating him at mount Sipilus, and repulsing him from every part of Asia minor.

(y) *Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.* Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the strongest fortress in it. He went soon after into the provinces of the East, in order to levy money to pay the Romans; but, having plundered the temple of Elymais, he there lost his life in a miserable manner.

Such is the prophecy of Daniel relating to Antiochus, which I have explained in most places, according to the Hebrew text. I confess there may be some doubtful and obscure terms, which may be difficult to explain, and are variously interpreted by commentators;

(x) Ver. 18.

(y) Ver. 19.

* Legati ab Ptolemæo & Cleopatra, legibus Ægypti, gratulantes quòd Manius Acilius consul Antiochum regem Græciæ expulset venerunt. *Liv.* l. xxxvii. n. 3.

tors ; but is it possible for the substance of the prophecy to appear obscure and doubtful ? Can any reasonable man, who makes use of his understanding, ascribe such a prediction, either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human prudence and sagacity ? Can any light, but which proceeds from God himself, penetrate, in this manner, into the darkness of futurity, and point out the events of it in so exact and circumstantial a manner ? Not to mention what is here said concerning Egypt, Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldest reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded ; and, accordingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngest is Antiochus, surnamed the Great, from his great actions ; and, accordingly, our prophet gives a transient account of the principal circumstances of his life, his most important enterprizes, and even the manner of his death. In it we see his expeditions into Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, several cities of which are besieged and taken by that monarch ; his entrance into Jerusalem, which is laid waste by the stay his troops make in it ; his conquests of a great many islands ; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not answer the design he had in view ; his overthrow by the Roman consul ; his retreat to Antioch ; and, lastly, his unfortunate end. These are, in a manner, the out-lines of Antiochus's picture, which can be made to resemble none but himself. Is it to be supposed that the prophet drew those features without design and at random, in the picture he has left us of him ? The facts which denote the accomplishment of the prophecy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet in question, and whose fidelity cannot be suspected in any manner. We must renounce, not only religion, but reason, to refuse to acknowledge, in such prophecies as these, the intervention of a supreme Being, to whom all ages are present, and who governs the world with absolute power.

SECT. IX. SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR *succeeds to the throne of ANTIOCHUS his father. The beginning of the reign of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES in Egypt. Various embassies sent to the Achæans and Romans. Complaints made against PHILIP. Commissioners are sent from Rome to enquire into those complaints; and at the same time to examine concerning the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans. Sequel of that affair.*

A. M. 3817.
Ant. J. C. 187.
(a) **A**NTIOCHUS the Great dying, Seleucus Philopator, his eldest son, whom he had left in Antioch when he set out for the eastern provinces, succeeded him. But his reign was obscure and contemptible, occasioned by the misery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant* sum (a thousand talents annually) he was obliged to pay, during all his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people.

(b) Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he had sent an ambassador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this offer with joy; and accordingly sent deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, they entered into discourse concerning that prince. In the praise the ambassador bestowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chace, his address in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exercise of his arms; and, to give an example of what he asserted, he declared, that this prince, being on horseback, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild bull with the discharge of a single javelin.

The same year Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter,

(a) Appian. in Syr. p. 116.
* About 190,000 l.

(b) Polyb. in Leg. c. xxxvii.

daughter, queen of Egypt, had a son, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometor. (c) The whole realm expressed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Cœlosyria and Palestine distinguished themselves above all the provinces, and the most considerable persons of those countries went to Alexandria upon that occasion with the most splendid equipages. Josephus, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was receiver-general of those provinces, being too old to take such a journey, sent his youngest son, Hyrcanus, in his stead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. A buffoon, who used to divert the king with his jests, said to him; "Do but behold, sir, the quantity of bones before Hyrcanus, and your majesty may judge in what a manner his father gnaws your provinces." Those words made the king laugh; and he asked Hyrcanus how he came to have so great a number of bones before him. "Your majesty need not wonder at that, (replied he;) for dogs eat both flesh and bones, as you see the rest of the persons at your table have done, (pointing to them;) but men are contented to eat the flesh, and leave the bones like me." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confused. When the day for making the presents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out, that he had only * five talents to present, it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king, and people diverted themselves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greatest presents made by the rest did not exceed † twenty talents. But Hyrcanus presented to the king an hundred boys, well shaped and finely dressed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like present for that princess. The whole

(c) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. 4.

* About seven hundred and fifty pounds. † About three thousand pounds.

whole court was amazed at such uncommon and surpassing magnificence; and the king and queen dismissed Hyrcanus with the highest marks of their favour and esteem.

A. M.
3820.
Ant. J. C.
184.

(*d*) Ptolemy, in the first year of his reign, governed in so auspicious a manner, as gained him universal approbation and applause; because he followed, in all things, the advice of Aristomenes, who was another father to him; but afterwards, the flattery of courtiers (that deadly poison to kings) prevailed over the wise counsels of that able minister. That prince shunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Aristomenes frequently took of advising him to act more consistently with himself, he dispatched him by poison. Having thus got rid of a troublesome censor, whose sight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it seemed to make him, he abandoned himself entirely to his vicious inclinations; plunged into excesses and disorders of every kind; followed no other guides in the administration of affairs, but his wild passions; and treated his subjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

The Egyptians, growing at last quite weary of the oppressions and injustice to which they were daily exposed, began to cabal together, and to form associations against a king who oppressed them so grievously. Some persons of the highest quality having engaged in this conspiracy, they had already formed designs for deposing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

(*e*) To extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he chose Polycrates for his prime minister, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the most consummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had rose to the command of the army under his father, and had served in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he had contributed very much to the victory.

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(*d*) Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294.

(*e*) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.

victory. He was afterwards governor of the island of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conspiracy was discovered, the expedients he employed on that occasion conduced very much to the preservation of the state.

Ptolemy, by the assistance of this prime minister, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and submit on certain conditions. But, having seized their persons, he forfeited his promise; and, after having exercised various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates extricated him again.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now speaking of, seems to have been very powerful, and in great consideration. We have seen that Ptolemy, a little after his accession to the throne, had been very solicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This he was also very desirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly offered that republick six thousand shields, and two hundred talents of brass. His offer was accepted; and, in consequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the presents, and to renew the alliance; and these returned soon after with Ptolemy's ambassador, in order to ratify the treaty. (f) King Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose, and offered an hundred and twenty talents, (about twenty-one thousand pounds sterling,) the interest of which to be applied for the support of the members of the publick council. Others came likewise from Seleucus, who, in the name of their sovereign, offered ten ships of war completely equipped; and, at the same time, desired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambassador whom Philopœmen had sent to Rome to justify his conduct, was returned from thence, and desired to give an account of his commission.

A. M.

3821.

Ant. J. C.

183.

A. M.

3818.

Ant. J. C.

186.

For

For these several reasons a great assembly was held. The first man that entered it, was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had said in the senate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the answer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the senate, in reality, were not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the massacre of the Spartans; but, at the same time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no person happened to speak for or against the answers of the senate, no further mention was made of it at that time. But the same affair will be the subject of much debate in the sequel.

The ambassadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father; and proposed, in Eumenes's name, the offer of an hundred and twenty talents; they expatiated largely on the great friendship and tender regard which their sovereign had always shewed for the Achæans. When they had ended what they had to say, Apollonius of Sicyon rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, considered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans; but, if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case, the republick could not accept of this present without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest of prevarications. " For, in a word, (continued he) as
 " the law forbids every individual, whether of the
 " people or of the magistrates, to receive any gift
 " from a king upon any pretence whatsoever, the
 " crime would be much greater, should the common-
 " wealth, collectively, accept of Eumenes's offers.
 " That with regard to the infamy, it was self-evident;
 " for (says Apollonius) what could reflect greater ig-
 " nominy in a council, than to receive, annually,
 " from a king, money for its subsistence; and to as-
 " semble,

“ seem, in order to deliberate on publick affairs,
 “ only as so many of his pensioners, and in a manner
 “ rising from his table, after having * swallowed the
 “ bait that concealed the hook ? But what dreadful
 “ consequences might not be expected from such a
 “ custom, should it be established ? That afterwards
 “ Prusias, excited by the example of Eumenes, would
 “ also be liberal of his benefactions, and after him,
 “ Seleucus : That, as the interest of kings differed
 “ widely from those of republicks, and as, in the
 “ latter, their most important deliberations related to
 “ their differences with crowned heads, two things
 “ would inevitably happen ; either the Achæans
 “ would transact all things to the advantage of those
 “ princes, and to the prejudice of their own country ;
 “ or else, they must behave with the blackest ingrati-
 “ tude towards their benefactors.” He concluded
 his speech with exhorting the Achæans to refuse the
 present which was offered ; and added, “ That it was
 “ their duty to take umbrage at Eumenes, for at-
 “ tempting to bribe their fidelity by such an offer.”
 The whole assembly with shouts rejected unanimously
 the proposal of king Eumenes, however dazzling the
 offer of so large a sum of money might be.

After this, Lycortas, and the rest of the ambassa-
 dors who had been sent to Ptolemy, were called in ;
 and the decree made by that prince for renewing the
 alliance was read. Aristenes, who presided in the as-
 sembly, having asked what treaty the king of Egypt
 desired to renew, (several having been concluded with
 Ptolemy upon very different conditions,) and nobody
 being able to answer that question, the decision of that
 affair was referred to another time.

At last the ambassadors of Seleucus were admitted
 to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance
 which had been concluded with him ; but it was not
 judged

* Polybius, by this expression, *menes had of making all those who*
would denote, that such a pension composed the council his dependants.
was a kind of bait that covered a *Καταπεπρωκτος ολοι διδωας.*
hook, that is, the design which Eu-

judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships he offered.

A. M. 3819.
Ant. J. C. 185. Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints were carried, from all quarters, to Rome against Philip. The senate thereupon nominated three commissioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of those affairs upon the spot.

(g) Philip still retained the strongest resentment against the Romans, with whom he believed he had just reason to be dissatisfied on many accounts; but particularly, because by the articles of peace, he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on such of his subjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured to console him, by permitting him to invade Athamania, and Amynder the king of that country; by giving up to him some cities of Thessaly, which the Ætolians had seized; by leaving him the possession of Demetrias and all Magnesia; and by not opposing him in his attempts upon Thrace; all which circumstances had somewhat appeased his anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advantage of the repose which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. But the complaints that were made against him at Rome, having been listened to there, revived all his former disgusts.

The three commissioners being arrived at Tempe in Thessaly, an assembly was called there, to which came, on one side, the ambassadors of the Thessalians, of the Perrhebian and Athamanians; and, on the other, Philip king of Macedon, a circumstance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of so powerful a prince. The ambassadors explained their various complaints against Philip, with greater or less force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excusing themselves for being obliged to plead against him, in favour of their liberty, intreated him

him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a master; and to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendship than fear. The rest of the ambassadors, being less reserved, and not so moderate, reproached him to his face, for his injustice, oppression, and usurpation; assuring the commissioners, that in case they did not apply a speedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their restoration of the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual: That this prince *, like a fiery courser, would never be kept in and restrained without a very tight rein, and a sharp curb. Philip, that he might assume the air of an accuser rather than of one accused, inveighed heavily against those who had harangued on this occasion, and particularly against the Thessalians. He said, that like † slaves, who being made free on a sudden, contrary to all expectation, break into the most injurious exclamations against their masters and benefactors; so they abused, with the utmost insolence, the indulgence of the Romans; and were incapable, after enduring a long servitude, to make a prudent and moderate use of the liberty which had been granted them. The commissioners, after hearing the accusations and answers, the circumstances of which I shall omit as little important, and making some particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon their respective demands.

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to inquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much disgusted, followed them thither. Eumenes's ambassadors said to the commissioners, that if the Romans were resolved to restore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty,

* Ut equum sternacem non patientem, frenis asperioribus castigandum esse. *Liv.*

† Insolenter & immodice abuti Thessalos, indulgentia populi Romani; velut ex diutina siti nimis

avide meram haurientes libertatem. Ita, servorum modo præter spem repente manumissorum, licentiam vocis & linguæ experiri, & jactare sese insectatione & conviciis dominorum. *Liv.*

berty, their sovereign was far from having a design to oppose it; but that, if they did not concern themselves in regard to the condition of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus; in that case, the service which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome, seemed to require that they should rather be given up to their master than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had usurped them by open force: That, besides, these cities had been given to Eumenes, by a decree of the ten commissioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine these differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the strongest terms against the injustice and oppression which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

Here Philip delivered himself in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himself personally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him justice on any occasion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the services he had done the Romans on different occasions; and the zeal with which he had always adhered to their interest, so far as to refuse three thousand * talents, fifty ships of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That, notwithstanding this, he had the mortification to see Eumenes preferred on all occasions, with whom it was too great a condescension to compare himself; and that the Romans, so far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought his services merited, had even dispossessed him, as well of those cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of such as they had bestowed upon him. “ You, O Romans, (says he, concluding his speech) “ are to consider upon what foot you intend to have “ me be with you. If you are determined to treat “ me as an enemy, and to urge me to extremities, in “ that case, you need only use me as you have hitherto done :

* About 450,000 l. sterling.

“ done: But, if you still revere in my person the title
 “ and quality of king, ally, and friend, spare me, I
 “ beseech you, the shame of being treated any longer
 “ with so much indignity.”

The commissioners were moved with this speech of the king. For this reason, they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in suspense, by making no decisive answer; and accordingly they declared, that if the cities in question had been given to Eumenes, by the decree of the ten commissioners, as he pretended they were; in that case, it was not in their power to reverse it in any manner: That, if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was but just that he should be suffered to continue in possession of them: That if neither of these things should be proved, then the cognizance of this affair should be left to the judgment of the senate; and, in the mean time, the garrisons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretensions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, provisionally, to withdraw his garrisons out of the respective cities, so far from satisfying that prince, so entirely discontented and enraged him, that the consequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

(*b*) The commissioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Aristenes, who was the chief magistrate, assembled immediately all the chiefs of the republick in Argos. Cecilius coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wisdom of their government on all other occasions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what they had acted imprudently against them on that occasion. The silence of Aristenes, who did not reply a single word, shewed that he was of the same opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in

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concert.

concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better skilled in war than politicks, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints against him. Upon this, Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to speak with the utmost vigour in defence of the republick. They shewed, that the whole transaction at Sparta had been conducted by prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians; and that, had it been otherwise, human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods, must have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the assembly, the members of it, moved with that discourse, came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed, and that this answer should be made the Roman ambassador.

When it was told Cecilius, he desired that the general assembly of the country might be convened. To this the magistrates replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, by which the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cecilius had no such letter, they told him plainly, that they would not assemble; which exasperated him to such a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magistrates had to say. It was believed that this ambassador (and before him Marcus Fulvius) would not have delivered themselves with so much freedom, had they not been sure that Aristenes and Diophanes were in their interest. And, indeed, they were accused of having invited those Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly suspected by the populace.

A. M. 3820.
Ant. J. C. 184. (i) Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the senate with whatever had been transacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambassadors of Macedonia and Peloponnesus were brought in. Those of Philip and Eumenes were introduced first, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before said in the presence of Cecilius in Thessalonica. The senate, after admitting them to audience,

audience, sent to Philip other ambassadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the spot whether he was withdrawn (as he had promised Cecilius) from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him, at the same time, to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the castles, territories, and cities, which he possessed on the sea-coast of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambassador whom the Achæans had sent, to give the reasons why they had not made their answers to Cecilius; and to inform the senate of all that had been transacted with regard to the Spartans, who had deputed to Rome Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the first exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had restored to their country. The circumstance which most exasperated the Achæans was, to see that, notwithstanding the precious and recent obligation to their favour, they had, however, charged themselves with the odious commission of accusing those who had saved them so unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable blessing of returning to their houses and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impossible to settle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the rest of the Achæans had done; and they likewise cleared themselves, for their having refused to call a general assembly. On the other side, Areus and Alcibiades represented, in the most affecting manner, the sad calamity to which Sparta was reduced; its walls were demolished; its * citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a state of captivity: The sacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it subsist during so long a series of years, and with so much glory, had been entirely abolished.

The senate, after weighing and comparing the reasons on both sides, ordered the same ambassadors to

N 2

enquire

* By the decree of the Achæans, city and all Laconia; in default of which, the Achæans were empowered to seize and sell them as slaves, as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, should leave the which had accordingly been executed.

enquire into this affair, as were nominated to inspect those of Macedon; and desired the Achæans to convene their general assembly, whenever the Roman ambassadors should require it; as the senate admitted them to audience in Rome, as often as they asked it.

(k) When Philip was informed by his ambassadors, who had been sent back to him from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace; in the highest degree of rage, to see his dominions contracted on every side, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomastes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Cassander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they led a body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmost violence on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip having thus wreaked his vengeance on those who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commissioners, being firmly persuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the strongest terms, on that account. The latter resolutely asserted, that he had not been concerned in any manner in that massacre, but that it was wholly occasioned by an insurrection of the populace. "Some," says he, "declaring for Eumenes, and others for me, a great quarrel arose, and they butchered one another." He went so far as to challenge them to produce any person, who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His punishment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. *It is to no purpose,* says Appius to him, *for you to apologize for yourself; I know what things have been done, as well as the authors of them.* These words gave Philip the greatest anxiety.

However,

(k) Polyb. in Legat. c. xliv. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34, 35.

However, matters were not carried farther at this first interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to send immediately Onomastes and Cassander to Rome, to be examined by the senate on the affair in question, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last, he declared that he would send Cassander, whom the commissioners suspected to be the contriver of the massacre: But he was determined not to send Onomastes, who (he declared) so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason of this conduct was, Philip was afraid lest Onomastes, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, and had never concealed any thing from, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the commissioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ship; but, at the same time, sent some persons after him, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had contrived the massacre in Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the king of Macedon reflecting in his own mind, and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, must necessarily soon display itself; would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against that people; but, being not prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. Philip resolved to send his son Demetrius to Rome, who, having been many years a hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate, or apologize for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince his son on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people, would strike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their opposing the resolution he had formed of entering into war against the Romans. And accordingly he defeated those petty sovereigns in a battle, and took prisoner their chief, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

(1) The arrival of the Roman commissioners was expected in Peloponnesus, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an answer might be ready for them, summoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He represented to the assembly, such things as they might fear from them; the Romans seeming to favour their interest much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been so base as to undertake the embassy against them to the senate, where they acted and spoke like professed enemies; as if the Achæans had drove them from their country, when it was they who had restored them to it. Upon this, great shouts were heard in every part of the assembly, and the president was desired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a passion and a thirst of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commissioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmost terror; for, seeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had just before condemned to die, arrive with the commissioners, they naturally supposed

supposed that the enquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but disapprove of every thing which had been done on that occasion: The murder of those who, on the promise which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cause; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, which had spread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flourish for several ages.

Lycortas, as president of the council, and as having joined with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been transacted against Lacedæmonia, undertook to answer Appius. He shewed first, that as the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expressly forbid them to make any attempt against the maritime cities; these exiles, in the absence of the Romans, could have recourse only to the Achæan league, which could not be justly accused, for having assisted them, to the utmost of their power, in so urgent a necessity. That, with regard to the massacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accused for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulse, and without being authorized in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmost fury and violence on those whom they supposed had been the authors of their banishment, and to whom the rest of the calamities they had suffered were owing. "However," added Lycortas, "it is pretended that we cannot but own that we were the cause of the abolition of Lycurgus's laws, and the demolition of the walls of Sparta. This, indeed, is a real fact; but then, how can this double objection be made to us at the same time? The walls in question were not built by Lycurgus, but by tyrants, who erected them some few years ago, not for the security of the city, but for their own

N 4

"safety,

“ safety, and to enable themselves to abolish, with im-
 “ punity, the discipline and regulation so happily
 “ established by that wise legislator. Were it possible
 “ for him to rise now from the grave, he would be
 “ overjoyed to see those walls destroyed, and say, that
 “ he now knows and owns his native country and an-
 “ cient Sparta. You should not, O citizens of Sparta,
 “ have waited for Philopœmen or the Achæans; but
 “ ought yourselves to have pulled down those walls
 “ with your own hands, and destroyed even the slight-
 “ est trace of tyranny. These were a kind of igno-
 “ minious scars of your slavery: And, after having
 “ maintained your liberties and privileges during al-
 “ most eight hundred years; and been for some time
 “ the sovereigns of Greece, without the support and
 “ assistance of walls; they, within these hundred
 “ years, have become the instruments of your slavery,
 “ and, in a manner, your shackles and fetters. With
 “ respect to the ancient laws of Lycurgus, they were
 “ suppressed by the tyrants; and we have only sub-
 “ stituted our own, by putting you upon a level with
 “ us in all things.”

Addressing himself afterwards to Appius, “ I can-
 “ not forbear owning,” says he, “ that the words I
 “ have hitherto spoke, were not as from one ally to
 “ another; nor of a free nation, but as slaves who
 “ speak to their master. For, in fine, if the voice of
 “ the herald, who proclaimed us to be free in the
 “ front of the Grecian states, was not a vain and
 “ empty ceremony; if the treaty concluded at that
 “ time be real and solid; if you are desirous of sin-
 “ cerely preserving an alliance and friendship with
 “ us; on what can that infinite disparity, which you
 “ suppose to be between you Romans and we Achæ-
 “ ans be grounded? I do not enquire into the treat-
 “ ment which Capua met with, after you had taken
 “ that city: Why then do you examine into our
 “ usage of the Lacedæmonians, after we had con-
 “ quered them? Some of them were killed: And I
 “ will suppose that it was by us. But, did not you
 “ strike

“ strike off the heads of several Campanian senators?
“ We levelled the walls of Sparta with the ground ;
“ but as for you, Romans, you not only dispossessed
“ the Campanians of their walls, but of their city
“ and lands. To this I know you will reply, that the
“ equality expressed in the treaties between the Ro-
“ mans and Achæans is merely specious, and a bare
“ form of words : That we really have but a preca-
“ rious and derivative liberty, but that the Romans
“ are possessed of authority and empire. This, Ap-
“ pius, I am but too sensible of. However, since we
“ must be forced to submit to this, I intreat you at
“ least, how wide a difference soever you may set be-
“ tween yourselves and us, not to put your ene-
“ mies and our own upon a level with us, who are
“ your allies ; especially, not to shew them better
“ treatment. They require us, by forswearing our-
“ selves, to dissolve and annul all we have enacted by
“ oath ; and to revoke that, which by being written
“ in our records, and engraved on marble, in order to
“ preserve the remembrance of it eternally, is become
“ a sacred monument, which it is not lawful for us to
“ violate. We revere you, O Romans ; and if you
“ will have it so, we also fear you ; but then, we
“ think it glorious to have a greater reverence, and
“ fear for, the immortal gods.”

The greatest part of the assembly applauded this speech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had spoke like a true magistrate ; it was therefore necessary for the Romans to act with vigour, or resolve to lose their authority. Appius, without descending to particulars, advised them, whilst they still enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders to make a merit, with regard to the Romans, of making that their own decree, which might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at these words ; but were instructed by them, not to persist obstinately in the refusal of what should be demanded. All they therefore desired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleased with regard to Sparta ; but not
to

to oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themselves. As to the sentence that was just before passed against Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

(*m*) The Romans pronounced judgment the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that those persons who had been condemned by the Achæans should be recalled and restored; that all sentences relating to this affair should be repealed, and that Sparta should continue a member of the Achæan league. (*n*) Pausanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy, that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commissary, to settle the affairs of Macedon, and those of Peloponnesus, where great feuds and disturbance subsisted, especially between the Achæans on one side, and the Messenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. (*o*) They all had sent ambassadors to Rome; but it does not appear that the senate was in any great haste to put an end to their differences. The answer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themselves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans against the Messenians, pursuant to the treaty; or, at least, not to suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of Italy, to the latter people. It was answered them, that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the senate did not think itself obliged to enter into those disputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and divisions, and even, in some measure, give a sanction to them.

In these proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended solely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whose power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious designs with the specious pretence of succouring the weak and oppressed.

(*m*) Liv. l. xxxi. n. 48.
in Legat. c. li.

(*n*) In Achaïac. p. 414.

(*o*) Polyb.

SECT. X. PHILOPOEMEN *besieges Messene. He is taken prisoner, and put to death by the Messenians. Messene surrendered to the Achæans. The splendid funeral procession of PHILOPOEMEN, whose ashes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of PTOLEMY EPIPHANES, who is succeeded by PHILOMETOR his son.*

(a) **D**INOCRATES the Messenian, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Messene from the Achæan league; and was meditating how he might best seize upon a considerable post, called Corone, near that city. Philopœmen, then seventy years of age, and generalissimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay sick. However, the instant the news of this was brought him, he set out, notwithstanding his indisposition, made a counter-march, and advanced towards Messene with a small body of forces, consisting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out against him, was soon put to flight: But five hundred troopers, who guarded the open country of Messene, happening to come up and reinforce him, he faced about and routed Philopœmen. This general, who was solicitous of nothing but to save the gallant youths that had followed him in this expedition, performed the most extraordinary acts of bravery; but happening to fall from his horse, and receiving a deep wound in the head, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, who carried him to Messene. Plutarch considers this ill fortune of Philopœmen, as the punishment for some rash and arrogant words that had escaped him upon his hearing a certain general applauded: *Ought that man, says he, to be valued, who suffers himself to be taken alive by the enemy, whilst he has arms to defend himself?*

Upon the arrival of the first news which was carried to Messene, *viz.* That Philopœmen was taken prisoner,

(a) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in Legat. c. lii, liii.

A. M.
3821.
Ant. J. C.
183.

prisoner, and on his way to that city, the Messenians were in such transports of joy, that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to persuade themselves of the truth of what they heard, till they saw him themselves, so greatly improbable did this relation appear to them. To satisfy the violent curiosity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a sight of him, they were forced to shew the illustrious prisoner on the theatre, where multitudes came to see him. When they beheld Philopœmen dragged along in chains, most of the spectators were so much moved to compassion, that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which resulted from humanity and a very laudable gratitude; "That the Messenians ought to call to mind the great services done by Philopœmen, and his preserving the liberty of Achaia, by the defeat of Nabis the tyrant." But the magistrates did not suffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, lest the pity of the people should be attended with ill consequences. They therefore took him away on a sudden; and, after consulting together, caused him to be conveyed to a place called *the treasury*. This was a subterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without; and had no door to it, but was shut with a huge stone that was rolled over the entrance of it. In this dungeon they imprisoned Philopœmen, and posted a guard round every part of it.

As soon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates caused the stone to be rolled away, and the executioner to descend into the dungeon with a dose of poison to Philopœmen, commanding him not to stir till he had swallowed it. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan perceived the first glimmerings of light, and saw the man advance towards him, with a lamp in one hand and a sword in the other, he raised himself with the utmost difficulty (for he was very weak) sat down, and then taking the cup, he enquired of the executioner, whether he could
tell

tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans his followers, particularly Lycortas? The executioner answering, that he heard almost all of them had saved themselves by flight; Philopœmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly on him, *You bring me*, says he, *good news; and I find we are not entirely unfortunate*: After which, without breathing the least complaint, he swallowed the dreadful dose, and laid himself again on his cloak. The poison was very speedy in its effects; for, Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death spread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpressibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately all their young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magistrates, came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being summoned, it was unanimously resolved not to delay a moment the revenge of so horrid a deed; and, accordingly, having elected on the spot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmost fury into Messène, and filled every part of it with blood and slaughter. The Messenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themselves by force of arms, sent a deputation to the Achæans, to desire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their past faults. Lycortas, moved at their intreaties, did not think it adviseable to treat them as their furious and insolent revolt seemed to deserve. He told them, that there was no other way for them to expect a peace, but by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen; to submit all their affairs to the disposal of the Achæans, and to receive a garrison into their citadel. These conditions were accepted, and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himself, in which he was imitated by all those who had advised the putting Philopœmen to death. Lycortas caused those to be delivered up, who had advised the insulting of Philopœmen. These were
undoubt-

undoubtedly the persons who were stoned round his tomb, as we shall soon see.

The funeral obsequies of Philopœmen were then solemnized. After the body had been consumed by the flames, his ashes laid together, and deposited in an urn, the train set out for Megalopolis. This procession did not so much resemble a funeral as a triumph; or rather it was a mixture of both. First came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all shedding floods of tears. Then followed the Messenian prisoners bound in chains: Afterwards the general's son, young* Polybius, carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the noblest and most distinguished Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whose arms glittered magnificently, and whose horses were all richly caparisoned, closed the march, and did not seem too much dejected at this mournful scene, nor too much elate from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the procession, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All possible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Messenian captives were stoned round his sepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpose, ordered all the greatest honours to be paid him, and erected many statues to him with magnificent inscriptions.

Several † years after, at the time that Corinth was burnt and destroyed by Mummius the proconsul, a false accuser (a Roman) as I observed elsewhere, used his utmost endeavours to get them broke to pieces; prosecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was heard in council before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were answered by Polybius, who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence.

* This was Polybius the historian, who then might be about two-and-twenty.

† Thirty-seven years.

quence. It is great pity so affecting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed, like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans: For the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper disparity between virtue and interest; they distinguished the glorious and honest from the profitable; and were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers observe, that three illustrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the same year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and, as it were, upon a level, with the two most celebrated generals of the two most powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a sufficient idea of this character, so shall only repeat what I before observed, that Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans.

The Messenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the most deplorable condition, were, by the goodness and generosity of Lycortas and the Achæans, restored to the league from which they had withdrawn themselves. Several other cities, which, from the example they set them, had also renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a seasonable act of clemency produces; whereas a violent and excessive severity, that breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to despair; and so far from proving a remedy to evils, only enflames and exasperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Messenians, the ambassadors were addressed in terms quite different from those which had been used to them before. The

senate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene; an answer which manifestly discovers the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith in their transactions with other nations. They seemed, at first, desirous of giving the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now, they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had fought all opportunities to serve them.

It is manifest on this occasion, that the Roman senate consented to what had been transacted, because it was not in their power to oppose it; that they wanted to make a merit of this with regard to the Achæans, who possessed almost the whole force of Peloponnesus; that they were very cautious of giving the least umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip; when the Ætolians were disgusted; and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in some enterprize which might have been of ill consequence to the Romans.

(*b*) I have related Hannibal's death in the history of the Carthaginians. After his retiring from Antiochus's court, he fled to Prusias king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great service. Both sides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occasion, Eumenes's fleet consisted of a much greater number of ships than that of Prusias. But Hannibal opposed stratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous serpents, and filled several earthen vessels with them. The instant the signal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and sailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only, (informing them at the same time of a sign by which they should distinguish it from the rest;) and to annoy the enemy no otherwise than by throwing the earthen vessels into the rest of the galleys. At first this was only laughed at; the

(*b*) Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. x.---xii. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

the sailors not imagining that these earthen vessels could be of the least service: But when the serpents were seen gliding over every part of the gallies, the soldiers and rowers, now studious only of preserving themselves from those venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was so warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the king made his escape. Prusias, by Hannibal's assistance, gained several victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, because the victims had not been propitious; *What **, says Hannibal, *do you rely more upon the liver of a beast than upon the counsel of Hannibal?* To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Prusias to deliver him up, he took a dose of poison, which brought him to his end.

(c) I before observed that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambassadors being returned, and having reported the answer which had been received from the senate, Lycortas assembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. To incline the populace to it, he represented that the Romans, to whose disposal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burthened with it: That they had declared to the ambassadors, that they were no ways concerned in this affair: That the Spartans, in the administration of the publick affairs, were very desirous of that union, which (he observed) could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the first exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it; but would be banished from the city, and other citizens substituted in their room. But Dio-

A. M.
3822.
Ant. J. C.
182.

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O

phanes

(c) Polyb. in Leg. c. liii.

* An tu, inquit, vitulinæ caruncule, quàm imperatori veteri mavis credere? — Unius hostiæ jecinori longo experimento testa-

tam gloriam suam postponi, æquo animo non tulit. *Val. Max.* l. iii. c. 7.

phanes and some other persons undertook to defend the cause of the exiles. However, notwithstanding their opposition, the council decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the league, and was so accordingly. With regard to the first exiles, those only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt against the Achæan republick.

When the affair was ended, ambassadors were sent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The senate, after giving audience to those sent by Sparta and by the exiles, said nothing to the ambassadors, which tended to shew that they were disgusted in any manner at what had passed. With respect to those who had been lately sent into banishment, the senate promised to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the senate; and there gave an account of the manner in which the Messenians had been restored to their former state: And the senators were not only satisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

A. M.
3823.
Ant. J. C.
181.

(d) The Lacedæmonian exiles were no sooner returned from Rome into Peloponnesus, but they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the senate had sent by them, and by which they were desired to permit the exiles to settle again in their native country. It was answered, that the purport of those letters should be considered at the return of the Achæan ambassadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the senate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not so much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans hearing this, thought it requisite not to make any change in what had been decreed.

A. M.
3824.
Ant. J. C.
180.

(e) Hyperbates having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice should be taken of the letters which the se-

nate

(d) Polyb. in Leg. c. liv.

(e) Ibid. c. lviii.

nate had wrote, concerning the re-establishment of the exiles who had been banished from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When the Romans," says he, "listen favourably to such complaints and in-
" treaties of unfortunate persons, as appear to them
" just and reasonable, they, in this, act a very just
" part. But when it is represented to them, that
" among the favours which are requested at their
" hands, some are not in their power to bestow, and
" others would reflect dishonour, and be very preju-
" dicial to their allies; on these occasions they do not
" use to persist obstinately in their opinions, or exact
" from such allies an implicit obedience to their com-
" mands. This is exactly our case at present. Let us
" inform the Romans, that we cannot obey their or-
" ders without infringing the sacred oaths we have
" taken, without violating the laws on which our
" league is founded; and then they will undoubtedly
" wave their resolutions, and confess, that it is with
" the greatest reason we refuse to obey their com-
" mands." Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a
contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obe-
dience paid to the Romans; and declared, that all
laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be sacrificed to
their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was re-
solved that a deputation should be sent to the senate,
in order to represent the reasons given by Lycortas in
council. Callicrates, Lyfiades, and Aratus, were the
ambassadors to whom instructions were given in con-
formity to what had been deliberated.

When these ambassadors were arrived at Rome, Cal-
licrates being introduced into the senate, acted in di-
rect opposition to his instructions. He not only had
the assurance to censure those who differed in opinion
from him, but took the liberty to tell the senate what
they should do. "If the Greeks," says he, direct-
ing himself to the senators, "do not obey you; if
" they pay no regard either to the letters or orders
" which you send them, you must blame yourselves

“ only for it. In all the states of Greece, there are
“ now two parties; one of which asserts, that all
“ your orders ought to be obeyed; and that laws and
“ treaties, in a word, that all things should pay ho-
“ mage to your will and pleasure: The other party
“ pretends, that it is fitting that laws, treaties, and
“ oaths, ought to take place of your will; and are
“ for ever exhorting the people to adhere inviolably
“ to them. Of these two parties, the last suits best
“ with the genius and character of the Achæans, and
“ has the greatest influence over the people. What
“ is the consequence of this? Those who comply
“ with your measures are detested by the common
“ people, whilst such as oppose your decrees are ho-
“ noured and applauded. Whereas, if the senate
“ would shew ever so little favour to such as espouse
“ their interest cordially, the chief magistrates and
“ officers of all the republicks would declare for the
“ Romans; and the people, intimidated by this,
“ would soon follow their example. But, whilst you
“ shew an indifference on this head, all the chiefs will
“ certainly oppose you, as the infallible means of ac-
“ quiring the love and respect of the people. And
“ accordingly we see, that many people, whose only
“ merit consists in their making the strongest opposi-
“ tion to your orders, and a pretended zeal for the
“ defence and preservation of the laws of their coun-
“ try, have been raised to the most exalted employ-
“ ments in their country. In case you do not much
“ value whether the Greeks are, or are not, at your
“ devotion, then, indeed, your present conduct suits
“ exactly your sentiments. But if you would have
“ them execute your orders, and receive your letters
“ with respect, reflect seriously on this matter; other-
“ wise be assured that they will, on all occasions, de-
“ clare against your commands. You may judge of
“ the truth of this from their present behaviour to-
“ wards you. How long is it since you commanded
“ them, by your letters, to recall the Lacedæmonian
“ exiles? Nevertheless, so far from recalling them,
“ they

“ they have published a quite contrary decree, and
“ have bound themselves by oath never to reinstate
“ them. This ought to be a lesson to you; and shew
“ how cautious you should be for the future.”

Callicrates, after making this speech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their business in few words, but in such as were well adapted to move compassion, and then retired.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome, as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the senate. In this did the Greeks begin to throw themselves spontaneously into the arms of slavery; prostituted the liberty of which their ancestors had been so exceedingly jealous, and paid a submission and homage to the Romans, which they had always refused to the *Great King* of Persia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardless of every thing but their interest, sold and sacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; discovered the weak side of republicks with regard to their domestick affairs; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at last crushed; and furnished themselves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In consequence of this speech, it was soon concluded, that it would be proper to increase the power and credit of those who made it their business to defend the authority of the Romans, and to humble such as should presume to oppose it. Polybius observes, that this was the first time that the fatal resolution was taken, to humble and depress those who, in their respective countries, had the most noble way of thinking; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all such who, either right or wrong, should declare in favour of the Romans; a resolution, which soon after increased the herd of flatterers in all republicks, and very much lessened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the constant maxims of their policy, to oppress by all possible methods whoever ventured to oppose their ambitious projects. This single maxim may serve as

a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republick, and to shew us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they sometimes display, but which does not long support itself, and of which a just judgment cannot be formed but by the consequences.

To conclude, the senate, in order to get the exiles restored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Bœotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incense all Greece against the Achæans. And, in their answer to the ambassadors, they did not make the least mention of any one but Callicrates, whose example the senate wished the magistrates of all other cities would follow.

That deputy, after receiving this answer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cause of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto, a sort of equality had been observed between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the considerable services the Achæans had done them; and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them, in the most perilous junctures, as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league distinguished themselves at that time in a most conspicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty; and, above all, by the shining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treason, for we may justly bestow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, says Polybius, noble in their sentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whose fidelity they may safely depend, suggests to them the inconveniencies they would bring upon themselves, should they grant

certain favours; they generally return to a just way of thinking, and correct, so far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiss. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates studies nothing but how he may best work upon their passions by flattery. He had been sent to Rome, to plead the cause of the Achæans, and, by a criminal and unparallelled prevarication, he declares against his superiors; and becomes the advocate of their enemies; by whom he had suffered himself to be corrupted. At his return to Achaia, he spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he got himself elected captain-general. He was no sooner invested with this command, but he restored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Messene to their country.

Polybius, on this occasion, praises exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderness with which they listen to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readiness to atone for such unjust actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauses he gives them will not admit of great abridgement. The reader must call to mind that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a state of slavery. We are not to expect from an historian, who is subject and dependent, so much veracity as he very possibly would have observed in a free state, and at a time when men were permitted to speak the truth; and we must not blindly believe every circumstance of this kind advanced by him; facts have more force, and speak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themselves did not scruple to commit injustice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing a foreign means for that purpose, which procured them the same advantage, and served to conceal their unjust policy.

(f) Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war against Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very strong city of Pontus, of which

A. M.

3322.

Ant. J. C.

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his

his successors remained possessors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints against this at Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was united in interest with Eumenes, sent also ambassadors thither. The Romans several times employed their mediation and authority, to put an end to their differences; but Pharnaces was insincere on these occasions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was opposed by the confederate kings. Several enterprizes ensued; and after some years had been spent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

A. M. 3824.
Ant. J. C. 180. Never were more embassies sent than at the time we are now speaking of. Ambassadors were seen in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces; or from the allies and nations to one another. (g) The Achæans deputed, in this quality (to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt) Lycortas, Polybius his son, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the presents he had already bestowed on their republick, and the new offers he had made them. However, these ambassadors did not leave Achæa, because when they were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

A. M. 3824.
Ant. J. C. 180. (b) This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has been already mentioned, resolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked, by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded from this answer, that, as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent therefore that consequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus dispatched, in his twenty-ninth

(g) Polyb. in Leg. c. lvii.

(b) Hieron. in Daniel.

ninth year, after he had sat twenty-four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometor, his son, who was but six years of age, succeeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

C H A P. II.

SECT. I. *Complaints made at Rome against PHILIP.*

DEMETRIUS, his son, who was in that city, is sent to his father, accompanied by some ambassadors. A secret conspiracy of PERSEUS against his brother DEMETRIUS with regard to the succession to the throne. He accuses him before PHILIP. Speeches of both those princes. PHILIP, upon a new impeachment, causes DEMETRIUS to be put to death; but afterwards discovers his innocence and PERSEUS's guilt. Whilst PHILIP is meditating to punish the latter, he dies, and PERSEUS succeeds him.

(a) FROM the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia, that such as went to Rome to complain against Philip, were heard there, and many of them very favourably; a great number of cities, and even private persons, made their complaints in that city against a prince who was a very troublesome neighbour to them all, with the hopes, either of having the injuries redressed which they pretended to have received; or, at least, to console themselves in some measure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the rest, to whom, by order of the Roman commissioners and senate, the fortresses in Thrace were to be given up, sent ambassadors, at whose head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the senate, that Philip did not evacuate the garrisons in Thrace as he had promised; and to complain of his sending succours into Bithynia to Prusias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the son of Philip, king of Macedon,

was

was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already mentioned, he had been sent by his father, in order to superintend his affairs in that city. It was properly his business to answer the several accusations brought against his father: But the senate, imagining that this would be a very difficult task for so young a prince, who was not accustomed to speak in publick; to spare him that trouble, they sent certain persons to him to enquire, whether the king his father had not given him some memorials; and contented themselves with his reading them. Philip therein justified himself to the best of his power, with respect to most of the articles which were exhibited against him; but he especially shewed great disgust at the decrees which the Roman commissioners had enacted against him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The senate saw plainly what all this tended to; and, as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and assured them, that every thing should be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the senate replied, that his father Philip could not have done more wisely, or what was more agreeable to them, than in sending his son Demetrius to make his excuses. That, as to past transactions, the senate might dissemble, forget, and bear with a great many things: That, as to the future, they relied on the promise which Demetrius gave: That, although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedon, he left there (as the hostage of his inclinations) his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father: That out of regard to him, ambassadors should be sent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably and without noise, whatever might have been hitherto amiss: And that as to the rest, the senate was well pleased to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his son Demetrius for the tenderness with which the Romans behaved towards him. These marks of distinction which the senate gave him, with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court,

court, only animated envy against him, and at length occasioned his destruction.

(*b*) The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambassadors, produced different effects, according to the various dispositions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the consequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleased with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace; not to mention that they considered him as the successor to the throne of Macedon, after the demise of his father. For though he was the younger son, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother, who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perseus was the son of a concubine, and even reputed supposititious. Besides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perseus not having any credit with them. And these were the common reports.

On one side also, Perseus was greatly uneasy; as he feared, that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title against a brother superior to him in all other respects: And, on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to dispose of the throne as he pleased, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded the too great authority of his younger son. It was also a great mortification to him, to see rising, in his life-time, and before his eyes, a kind of second court in the concourse of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himself did not take sufficient care to prevent or sooth the growing disaffection to his person. Instead of endeavouring to suppress envy, by gentleness, modesty, and complacency, he only enflamed it, by a certain air of haughtiness which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himself upon the marks of distinction, with which he had been honoured in that city; and

not

not scrupling to declare, that the senate had granted him many things they had refused his father.

Philip's discontent was much more inflamed, at the arrival of the new ambassadors, to whom his son made his court more assiduously than to himself; and when he found he should be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons from that country, and to execute other things, either pursuant to the decrees of the first commissioners, or to the fresh orders he had received from Rome: All these orders and decrees he complied with very much against his will, and with the highest secret resentment; but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not sufficiently prepared. To remove all suspicion of his harbouring the least design that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, against people with whom the Romans did not concern themselves in any manner.

(c) However, his schemes were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commissioners, who had communicated the orders of the senate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's discourses, and the several steps he took, visibly threatened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them; settled them in * the most northern part of Macedon, and substituted in their places Thracians, and other barbarous nations, whom he believed would be more faithful to him. These changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of poor, unhappy people, who were forced away out of their houses, and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these innovations.

A. M. 3822.
Ant. J. C. 182. But Philip, so far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. All things were suspected by

(c) Liv. l. xl. n. 3—5.

* *Æmathia*, called formerly *Pæonia*.

by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but in securing their children, and he imprisoned them under a good guard, in order to have them all destroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself than such a design; but the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly, made it still more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus, one of the principal persons of the country, and some time after, his two sons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state; but Archo married a nobleman of Ænia, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo, dying early, left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris; took the same care of them as she did of her own son; and was as tender of them as if she had been their mother. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to murder the children of those who had been put to death; plainly foreseeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, she formed a surprizing resolution, declaring that she would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than suffer them to fall into the merciless power of Philip. Poris, whose soul was struck with horror at this design, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would send all their children to Athens, to some friends, on whose fidelity and humanity he could safely rely, and that he himself would convey them thither. Accordingly, they all set out from Thessalonica, in order to sail to the city of Ænia, to assist at a solemn festival, which was solemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having
spent

spent the whole day in festivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body else was asleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Theſſalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa; when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards, in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them back towards the coast. At day-break, the king's officers, who were posted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately sent off an armed sloop; commanding the captain of it, upon the severest penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was seen every moment, either exhorting the ship's company in the strongest terms, to exert themselves to the utmost in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. In the mean time Theoxena, resuming her former resolution, and presenting to her children the deadly dose she had prepared, and the daggers she had brought with her: "Death," says she, "only can free you from your miseries; and here is what will procure you that last, sad refuge. Secure yourselves from the king's horrid cruelty by the method you like best. Go (my dear children) such of you as are most advanced in years, and take these poniards; or, in case a slower kind of death may be more grateful, take this poison." The enemy were now almost in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands; and all, having either swallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their bosoms, were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, after giving her husband a last sad embrace, leapt into the sea with him. Philip's officers then seized the galley, but did not find one person alive in it.

The horror of this tragical event revived and inflamed to a prodigious degree, the hatred against Philip. He was publicly detested as a bloody tyrant; and people vented, in all places, both against him and his children, dreadful imprecations, which, says Livy,

soon

soon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance against his own children.

(d) Perseus saw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans, increased daily. Having now no hopes left of being able to ascend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by sounding the disposition of those who were in greatest favour with the king, and by addressing them in obscure and ambiguous words. At first, some seemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his proposals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, observing that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increased sensibly; which Perseus endeavoured daily to inflame; and which Demetrius, on the contrary, opposed to the utmost, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whose youth and inexperience made him not sufficiently upon his guard against the artifices of his brother, would at last fall a victim to them; they thought it their interest to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the strongest party. They accordingly did so, and devoted themselves entirely to Perseus.

Having postponed the execution of their more remote designs, they were of opinion that for the present it would be proper for them to employ their utmost efforts to exasperate the king against the Romans, and to inspire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the same time, to render Demetrius every day more suspected, they industriously, on all occasions, made the discourse turn in the king's presence upon the Romans; some expressing the utmost contempt for their laws and customs, others for their exploits; some for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was
void

void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others, even for such of the Romans, as were in highest estimation; making them all pass in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the scope and tendency of all these discourses, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on these occasions. Hence Demetrius (without considering the consequences) grew suspected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accusations and calumnies preparing against him. Accordingly, his father did not communicate to him any of the designs he continually meditated against Rome, and unbosomed himself only to Perseus.

The ambassadors whom he had sent to the Bastarnæ, to desire aid from them, returned about the time we are now speaking of. These had brought with them several youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promised his sister in marriage to one of Philip's sons. This new alliance with a powerful nation, very much exalted the king's courage. Perseus taking advantage of this opportunity; "Of what use," says he, "can all this be to us? We have not so much to hope from foreign aids, as to dread from domestick foes. We harbour in our bosoms, I will not say a traitor, but at least a spy. The Romans, ever since he was an hostage among them, have restored us his body; but as to his heart and inclinations, those he has left with them. Almost all the Macedonians fix already their eyes on him; and are persuaded, that they shall never have any king, but him whom the Romans shall please to set over them." By such speeches; the old king's disgust was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated from Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, in a festival solemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow. * A bitch, says

Livy,

* We find, in scripture, the like contracting parties pass through the ceremony, in which, in order for parts of the victim divided. Jer. the concluding of a treaty, the two xxxiv. 18.

Livy, is divided into two parts; it being cut, longways, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each side of the road. The troops under arms are made to march through the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the shining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried, tracing them backwards to the most remote antiquity. The king, with the princes his children, appear afterward, followed by all the royal household, and the companies of guards. The march is closed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the present occasion, the two princes walked on each side of the king; Perseus being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigour, the other in the flower of his age: Sons who might have formed their father's happiness, had his mind been rightly disposed and reasonable.

The custom was, after the sacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms but files, and represented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However, this was not a mere mock-battle; all the men exerting themselves, with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been disputing for the throne: Several were wounded on both sides, and nothing but swords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the superiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perseus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it, judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accusation against his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the soldiers of their respective parties. Perseus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refused to come. The joy was very great on both sides, and the guests drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much discourse passed about the bat-

tle; and the guests intermixed their speeches with jests and satirical flings (some of which were very sharp) against those of the contrary party; without sparing even the leaders. Perseus had sent a spy to observe all that should be said at his brother's banquet: But four young persons, who came by accident out of the hall, having discovered this spy, gave him very rude treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what happened, said to the company: "Let us go and conclude our feast at my brother's, to soften his pain (if he has any remaining) by an agreeable surprize, which will shew that we act with frankness and sincerity; and do not harbour any malice against him." Immediately all cried that they would go, those excepted, who were afraid their ill treatment of the spy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them thither also, they concealed swords under their robes, in order to defend themselves in case there should be occasion. When discord reigns in families, it is impossible for any thing to be kept secret in them. A man running hastily before, went to Perseus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might easily have guessed the cause of it, as he knew that they were the persons who had abused his spy: Nevertheless, to make this action still more criminal, Perseus orders the door to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment that looked into the street, cried aloud to his servants not to open the door to wretches, who were come with design to assassinate them. Demetrius, who was a little warm with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table; still ignorant of the affair relating to Perseus's spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air; and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprized

at his silence, asked what could be the cause of the concern which appeared in his countenance? "It is the greatest happiness for me," answers Perseus, "and by the merest good fortune in the world, that you see me here alive. My brother now no longer lays secret snares for me; he came in the night to my house, at the head of a body of armed men; purposely to assassinate me. I had no other way left to secure myself from his fury, but by shutting my doors, and keeping the wall between him and me." Perseus perceiving, by his father's countenance, that he was struck with astonishment and dread: "If you will condescend," says he, "to listen a moment to me, you shall be fully acquainted with the whole state of the affair." Philip answered, that he would willingly hear him; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for. At the same time, he sent for Lyſimachus and Onomastes, to ask their advice on this occasion. These two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themselves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very seldom at court. Philip, whilst he waited for their coming, walked several times up and down his apartment alone; during which he revolved a variety of thoughts, his son Perseus standing all the time at a distance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards; and permitted each of his sons to bring three persons, unarmed, along with him: And having taken his seat, he spoke to them as follows.

"Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to sit as judge between my two sons, one the accuser, and the other charged with the horrid guilt of fratricide; reduced to the sad necessity of finding, in one of them, either a criminal or a false accuser. From certain rumours, which long since reached my ears, and an unusual behaviour I observe between you (a behaviour no way suiting brothers) I indeed was

“ afraid this storm would break over my head. And
“ yet I hoped, from time to time, that your discon-
“ tents and disgusts would soften, and your suspicions
“ vanish away. I recollected, that contending kings
“ and princes, laying down their arms, had frequent-
“ ly contracted alliances and friendships; and that pri-
“ vate men had suppressed their animosities. I flat-
“ tered myself, that you would one day remember the
“ endearing name of brethren by which you are uni-
“ ted; those tender years of infancy which you spent
“ in simplicity and union; in fine, the counsels so
“ often repeated by a father; counsels, which, alas! I
“ am afraid have been given to children deaf and in-
“ docile to my voice. How many times, after setting
“ before you examples of the discord between bro-
“ thers, have I represented its fatal consequences, by
“ shewing you, that they had thereby involved them-
“ selves in inevitable ruin; and not only themselves,
“ but their children, families, and kingdoms? On
“ the other side, I proposed good examples for your
“ imitation: The strict union between the two kings
“ of Lacedæmonia, so advantageous during several
“ centuries, to themselves and their country; in oppo-
“ sition to division and private interest that changed
“ the monarchick government into tyranny, and proved
“ the destruction of Sparta. By what other method,
“ than by fraternal concord, did the two brothers,
“ Eumenes and Attalus, from such weak beginnings
“ as almost reflected dishonour on the regal dignity,
“ rise to a pitch of power equal to mine, to that of
“ Antiochus, and of all the kings we know of? I
“ even did not scruple to cite examples from the Ro-
“ mans, of which I myself had either been an eye-
“ witness, or heard from others: As the two brothers,
“ Titus and Lucius Quintius, who both were engaged
“ in war with me: The two Scipioes, Publius and
“ Lucius, who defeated and subjected Antiochus;
“ their father and their uncle, who having been inse-
“ parable during their lives, were undivided in death.
“ Neither the crimes of the one, though attended
“ with

“ with such fatal consequences ; nor the virtues of
 “ the other, though crowned with such happy suc-
 “ cess, have been able to make you abhor division and
 “ discord, and to inspire you with gentle and pacifick
 “ sentiments. Both of you, in my life-time, have
 “ turned your eyes and guilty desires upon my throne.
 “ You will not suffer me to live, till surviving one of
 “ you, I secure my crown to the other by my death.
 “ The fond names of father and brother are insup-
 “ portable to both. Your souls are strangers to ten-
 “ derness and love. A restless desire of reigning has
 “ banished all other sentiments from your breasts, and
 “ entirely engrosses you. But come, let me hear
 “ what each of you have to say. Pollute the ears of
 “ your parent with real or feigned accusations. Open
 “ your criminal mouths ; vent all your reciprocal
 “ slanders, and afterwards arm your parricide hands
 “ one against the other. I am ready to hear all you
 “ have to say ; firmly determined to shut my ears
 “ eternally from henceforth against the secret whispers
 “ and accusations of brother against brother.” Philip
 having spoke these last words with great emotion and
 an angry tone of voice, all who were present wept,
 and continued a long time in a mournful silence.

At last, Perseus spoke as follows. “ I perceive
 “ plainly, that I ought to have opened my door in
 “ the dead of night ; to have admitted the assassins
 “ into my house, and presented my throat to their
 “ murderous swords ; since guilt is never believed,
 “ till it has been perpetrated ; and since I, who was
 “ so inhumanly attacked, received the same injurious
 “ reproaches as the aggressor. People have but too
 “ much reason to say, that you consider Demetrius
 “ only as your true son ; whilst unhappy I am looked
 “ upon as a stranger, sprung from a concubine, or
 “ even an impostor. For, did your breast glow with
 “ the tenderness which a father ought to have for his
 “ child, you would not think it just to inveigh so
 “ bitterly against me, (for whose life so many snares
 “ have been laid) but against him who contrived
 P 3 “ them ;

“ them; and you would not think my life so incon-
 “ siderable, as to be entirely unmoved at the immi-
 “ nent danger I escaped; nor to that to which I shall
 “ be exposed, should the guilt of my enemies be suf-
 “ fered to go unpunished. If I must die without be-
 “ ing suffered to breathe my complaints, be it so;
 “ let me leave the world in silence, and be contented
 “ with beseeching the gods in my expiring moments,
 “ that the crime which was begun in my person, may
 “ end in it, and not extend to your sacred life. But
 “ if (what nature inspires in those, who seeing them-
 “ selves attacked unawares in solitude, implore the
 “ assistance even of strangers to them) I may be al-
 “ lowed to do with regard to you on the present oc-
 “ casion: If, when I see swords drawn round me, in
 “ order to pierce my heart, I may be permitted to
 “ vent forth a plaintive and supplicating voice; I con-
 “ jure you by the tender, the dear name of father,
 “ (for which, whether my brother or I have had the
 “ greatest reverence, you yourself have long known)
 “ to listen to me at this time, as if, awaked suddenly
 “ from your sleep by the tumult of what passed last
 “ night, chance had brought you at the instant of my
 “ danger, and in the midst of my complaints; and
 “ that you had found Demetrius at my door, attended
 “ by persons in arms. What I should have told you
 “ yesterday, in the greatest emotion, and seized with
 “ fear, I say to you now.

“ Brother, it is long since we have not behaved to-
 “ wards one another, like persons desirous of sharing
 “ in parties of pleasure. You are fired with an insatiable
 “ thirst of reigning, but you find an invincible
 “ obstacle in my age, the law of nations, the ancient
 “ customs of Macedonia; and, a still stronger cir-
 “ cumstance, my father’s will and pleasure. It will
 “ be impossible for you ever to force these barriers,
 “ and to ascend the throne, but by imbruing your
 “ hands in my blood. To compass your horrid ends,
 “ you employ instruments of all kinds, and set every
 “ engine at work. Hitherto, my vigilance, or my

“ good fortune, have preserved me from your bloody
“ hands. Yesterday, at the review, and the cere-
“ mony of the tournament which followed it, the
“ battle, by your contrivance, became almost bloody
“ and fatal; and, had I not suffered myself and my
“ followers to be defeated, you would have sent me
“ to the grave. From this fight, indeed of enemies,
“ you insidiously wanted (as if what had passed had
“ been only the diversion of brothers) to allure me
“ to your feast. Can you suppose (royal father) that
“ I should have met with unarmed guests there, as
“ those very guests came to my palace, completely
“ armed, at so late an hour? Can you imagine that,
“ favoured by the gloom, they would not have strove
“ to plunge their daggers in my heart; as the same
“ persons, in open day, and before your eyes, almost
“ killed me with their wooden weapons? How!
“ You, who are my professed enemy; you, who are
“ conscious that I have so much reason to complain
“ of your conduct; you (I say) come to me in the
“ night, at an unseasonable hour, and at the head of
“ a company of armed young men? I did not think
“ it safe for me to go to your entertainment; and
“ should I receive you in my house at a time when,
“ heated with the fumes of wine, you came so well
“ attended? Had I then opened my door (royal sir)
“ you would be preparing to solemnize my funeral,
“ at this very instant in which you vouchsafe to hear
“ my complaints. I do not advance any thing du-
“ bious, nor speak barely from conjecture. For can
“ Demetrius deny but that he came to my house, at-
“ tended by a band of young people, and that some
“ of them were armed; I only desire to have those
“ whom I shall name sent for. I believe them capa-
“ ble of any thing; but yet they cannot have the as-
“ surance to deny the fact. Had I brought them
“ before you, after seizing them armed in my house,
“ you would be fully convinced of their guilt: And
“ surely their own confession ought to be a no less
“ proof of it.

" You call down imprecations and curses upon im-
 " pious sons who aspire to your throne : This (august
 " fir) you have great reason to do : But then I beseech
 " you not to vent your imprecations blindly, and at
 " random. Distinguish between the innocent and
 " the guilty. Let him who meditated the barbarous
 " design of murdering his brother, feel the dire effects
 " of the anger of the gods, the avengers of paternal
 " authority : But then let him, who, by his brother's
 " guilt, was brought to the brink of destruction, find
 " a secure asylum in his father's tenderness and justice.
 " For where else can I expect to find one : I, to whom
 " neither the ceremony of the review, the solemnity
 " of the tournament, my own house, the festival, nor
 " the hours of night allotted by the gods to the re-
 " pose of man, could afford the least security ? If I go
 " to the entertainment to which my brother invites
 " me, I am a dead man ; and it will be equally fatal
 " to me, if I admit him into my house, when he
 " comes thither at midnight. Snares are laid for me
 " wherever I tread. Death lies in ambush for me
 " wherever I move ; to what place then can I fly for
 " security ?

" I have devoted myself only to the gods, and to
 " you, my royal father. I never made my court to
 " the Romans, and cannot have recourse to them.
 " There is nothing they more earnestly wish than
 " my ruin, because I am so much affected with their
 " injustice to you ; because I am tortured to the soul,
 " and fired with indignation, to see you dispossessed
 " of so many cities and dominions ; and, lately, of
 " the maritime coasts of Thrace. They cannot flat-
 " ter themselves with the hopes of ever making them-
 " selves masters of Macedonia as long as you or I am
 " in being. They are sensible, that, should I die by
 " my brother's guilt, or age bring you to the grave ;
 " or they not wait the due course of nature ; that
 " then the king and kingdom will be at their dis-
 " posal.

" Had

“ Had the Romans left you the possession of some city or territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon, I possibly might have had some opportunity of retiring to it. But, will it be answered, shall I find a sufficiently powerful protection in the Macedonians? You yourself, royal father, saw, with what animosity and virulence the soldiers attacked me in the battle. What was wanting, for my destruction, but swords of steel? However, the arms they wanted, my brother's guests assumed in the night. What shall I say of a great part of the principal persons of your court, who ground all their hopes on the Romans, and on him who is all-powerful with them? They are not ashamed to prefer him not only to me, who am his elder brother; but, I might almost say it, to you, who are our king and father. For they pretend it is to him you are obliged for the senate's remitting you some of those things which they otherwise would have required: It is he who now checks the Romans, and prevents their advancing, in a hostile manner, into your kingdom: In fine, if they may be believed, your old age has no other refuge, but the protection which your young son procures you. On his side are the Romans, on all the cities which have been dismembered from your dominions, as well as all such Macedonians, whose dependence, with regard to fortune, lies wholly in the Romans. But with respect to myself, I look upon it as glorious to have no other protector but my royal father, and to place all my hopes in him alone.

“ What do you judge to be the aim and design of the letter you lately received from Quintius, in which he declares expressly, that you acted prudently for your interest, in sending Demetrius to Rome; and, wherein he exhorts you to send him back thither, accompanied by other ambassadors, and a greater train of Macedonian noblemen? Quintius is now every thing with Demetrius. He has no other guide but his counsels, or rather his
“ orders.

“ orders. Quite forgetting that you are his father, he
 “ seems to have substituted him in your place. It is
 “ in the city of Roine, and in his sight he formed the
 “ secret and clandestine designs which will soon break
 “ out into action. It is merely to have the better op-
 “ portunity of putting them in execution, that
 “ Quintius orders you to send along with Demetrius
 “ a greater number of the Macedonian nobility. They
 “ set out from this country, with the most sincere at-
 “ tachment to your person and interest: But, won by
 “ the gracious treatment they meet with in that city,
 “ they return from it entirely corrupted and debauched
 “ by different sentiments. Demetrius is all in all with
 “ them: They even presume, in your life-time, to
 “ give him the title of king. If I appear shocked at
 “ this conduct, I have the grief to see, not only others,
 “ but yourself (my royal father) charge me with the
 “ horrid design of aspiring to your throne. Should
 “ this accusation be levelled at us both, I am consci-
 “ ous of my own innocence, and it cannot in any
 “ manner affect me. For, who, in that case, should
 “ I dispossess, to seize upon what would be another’s
 “ right? There is no one but my father between me
 “ and the throne, and I beseech the gods that he may
 “ long continue so. In case I should happen to sur-
 “ vive him (and this I would not wish, but so long as
 “ he should desire it) I shall succeed him in the king-
 “ dom, if it be his good pleasure. HE may be ac-
 “ cused of aspiring to the throne, and of aspiring in the
 “ most unjust and criminal manner, who is impatient
 “ to break the order and bounds prescribed by age,
 “ by nature, by the usages and customs of Macedonia,
 “ and by the law of nations. My elder brother (says
 “ Demetrius to himself) to whom the kingdom be-
 “ longs both by the right of seniority, and my father’s
 “ will, is an obstacle to my ambitious views.——
 “ What then must be done? —— I must dispatch
 “ him.——I shall not be the first who has waded
 “ through a brother’s blood to the throne. My fa-
 “ ther, in years, and without support, will be too
 “ much

“ much afraid for his own life to meditate revenge for his son's death. The Romans will be greatly pleased to see me on the throne ; they will approve my conduct, and be able to support me.—I own (most gracious father) these projects may all be defeated, but I am sure they are not without foundation. In a word, I reduce all to this : It is in your power to secure my life, by bringing to condign punishment, those who yesterday armed to assassinate me : But, should their guilt take effect, it will not be in your power to revenge my death.”

As soon as Perseus had ended his speech, all the company cast their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate that it was incumbent on him to answer immediately. But that young prince, being quite oppressed with sorrow, shedding floods of tears, and seeming unable to speak, a long silence ensued. At last, being pressed to answer, he made his grief give way to necessity, and spoke as follows,

“ Perseus (royal sir) by accusing me in your presence, and by shedding fictitious tears to move you to compassion, has made you suspect mine, which, alas ! are but too sincere ; and by that means deprived me of all the advantages the accused generally have. Ever since my return from Rome, he has been day and night laying snares for me, in secret cabals with his creatures ; and yet he represents me to you, not only as laying hidden ambuscades to destroy him, but attacking him by open force, and persons in arms. He endeavours to alarm you by the pretended dangers which surround him, in hopes that you will put to death his innocent brother. He declares that he has no refuge, no asylum left, with design to prevent my finding one in your clemency and justice. In the solitary and abandoned state to which I see myself reduced, quite friendless and unprotected, he strives to make me odious, by reproaching me with a foreign credit and support, which are rather a prejudice than a service to me.

“ Observe,

“ Observe, I beseech you, with what insidious art
 “ he has blended and confounded the transactions of
 “ last night with every other circumstance of my life:
 “ And this in a double view, first to raise a suspicion
 “ in you of my conduct in general from this last ac-
 “ tion, the innocence of which will soon be evident;
 “ and secondly, to support, by this idle story of a noc-
 “ turnal attack, his equally idle accusation, of my har-
 “ bouring criminal views, hopes, and pretensions. At
 “ the same time he has endeavoured to shew, that
 “ this accusation was not premeditated or prepared;
 “ but that it was wholly the effect of the fear with
 “ which he was seized, occasioned by last night’s tu-
 “ mult. But, Perseus, if I had attempted to betray
 “ my father and his kingdom; had I engaged in con-
 “ spiracies with the Romans, and with the enemies
 “ of the state, you ought not to have waited for the
 “ opportunity of the fictitious story of last night’s
 “ transaction, but should have impeached me before
 “ this time of such treason. If the charge of treason,
 “ when separated from the other, was altogether im-
 “ probable, and could serve to no other purpose but
 “ to prove how much you envy me, and not to evi-
 “ dence my guilt; you ought not to have mentioned
 “ it now, but should have postponed that charge to
 “ another time; and have examined now this question
 “ only, whether you laid snares for me, or I for you.
 “ I nevertheless will endeavour, as far as the confu-
 “ sion into which this sudden and unforeseen accusa-
 “ tion has thrown me will permit, to separate and
 “ distinguish what you have thrown together indiscri-
 “ minately; and to shew whether you or myself ought
 “ in justice to be accused of dealing treacherously last
 “ night.

“ Perseus asserts, that I harboured a design to as-
 “ sassinate him, in order that, by the death of my el-
 “ der brother, to whom the crown appertains by the
 “ right of nations, by the customs of Macedonia, and
 “ even, as he pretends, by your determination; I,
 “ though the younger son, might succeed to the
 “ throne.

“ throne. To what purpose therefore is that other
“ part of his speech, where he declares, that I have
“ been particularly studious to ingratiate myself with
“ the Romans, and flattered myself with the hopes of
“ being able to ascend the throne by their assistance?
“ For, if I thought the Romans were powerful enough
“ to bestow the kingdom of Macedon on whomsoever
“ they pleased; and if I relied so much on my credit
“ and authority with them, why should I commit a
“ fratricide of no advantage to myself? What! should
“ I have affected to surround my temples with a dia-
“ dem, dyed with my brother's blood, merely that I
“ might become odious and execrable, even to those
“ with whom I had acquired some authority (admit-
“ ting I have some credit with them) by a probity ei-
“ ther real or dissimulated? Unless you can suppose
“ that Quintius, whose counsel I am accused of fol-
“ lowing (he, I say, who lives in so delightful a union
“ with his brother, suggested to me the horrid design
“ of embruining my hands in my brother's blood.
“ Perseus has summed up all the advantages, by which
“ (as he would insinuate) I can promise myself a su-
“ periority over him, such as the credit of the Ro-
“ mans, the suffrages of the Macedonians, and the
“ almost universal consent of gods and men; and yet
“ he, at the same time, (as if I was inferior to him
“ in all respects) charges me with having recourse to
“ an expedient which none but the blackest villains
“ could employ. Will you, gracious sir, have us
“ judged upon this principle and rule, that whichsoever
“ of us two was apprehensive that the other would be
“ judged more worthy of the diadem, shall be de-
“ clared to have formed the design of murdering his
“ brother?

“ But let us come to facts, and examine the order
“ and plan of the criminal enterprize with which I
“ am charged. Perseus pretends to have been attack-
“ ed in different manners, all which are however in-
“ cluded within the space of one day. I attempted
“ (as he says) to murder him in broad day-light, in
“ the

“ the battle which followed the sacred ceremony of
 “ the review. I had determined to poison him at an
 “ entertainment to which I had invited him; in fine,
 “ I resolved to attack him with open force, in the
 “ dead of night, attended by armed persons to a party
 “ of pleasure at his house.

“ You see, sir, the season I had chosen to commit
 “ this fratricide; a tournament, a banquet, a party
 “ of pleasure. How venerable and solemn was this
 “ day! A day on which the army is reviewed, on
 “ which the resplendent arms of all the Macedonian
 “ monarchs are carried in the front of the procession;
 “ on which it passes through the two parts of the sa-
 “ cred victim; and on which we have the honour to
 “ march with you, at the head of the whole Macedo-
 “ nian people. What! though purified, by this au-
 “ gust sacrifice, from all faults I might before have
 “ committed; having before my eyes the sacred vic-
 “ tim through which we passed, was my mind intent
 “ upon fratricides, poisons, and daggers! Defiled in
 “ such a manner by crimes of the most horrid nature,
 “ by what ceremonies, by what victims, would it
 “ have been possible for me to purify myself?

“ It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a
 “ blind passion to calumniate and destroy me, in his
 “ endeavour to make every thing suspected, and a
 “ crime in me, betrays and contradicts himself. For
 “ (brother) had I formed the abominable design of
 “ poisoning you at my table, what could be more ill
 “ judged than to exasperate you, and to put you upon
 “ your guard by an obstinate battle, in which I should
 “ have discovered that I had designs of violence against
 “ you; and, by that means, have prevented your
 “ coming to an entertainment to which I had invited
 “ you, and at which you accordingly refused to be
 “ present? But surely, after such a refusal, should I
 “ not have endeavoured to reconcile myself to you;
 “ and, as I had resolved to take you off by poison,
 “ ought I not to have sought another opportunity for
 “ giving you the fatal draught? Was it natural for
 “ me

“ me to change suddenly (in one day) my barbarous
“ design, and to attempt to assassinate you, upon pre-
“ tence of going to your house on a party of plea-
“ sure? Could I reasonably flatter myself with the
“ hopes (taking it for granted that the fear of your
“ being murdered had made you refuse to come to
“ my entertainment) that the same fear would not
“ induce you to refuse me admittance into your house?

“ I presume, sir, I may confess to you without
“ blushing, that in a day of festivity and rejoicing,
“ happening to be in company with some people of
“ the same age with myself, I drank more plentifully
“ than usual. Enquire, I beseech you, how we spent
“ our time at the feast, how full of mirth we were,
“ how transported with thoughtless gaiety, very much
“ heightened by our, perhaps, too indiscreet joy, for
“ the victory we had gained in the tournament. It is
“ the sad condition of an unforeseen accusation; it is
“ the danger in which I now see myself involved,
“ that have dispelled but too easily the fumes of wine;
“ otherwise, a calm assassin, my eyes had still been
“ closed in slumbers. Had I formed a resolution to
“ attack your house with the view of murdering you,
“ would it not have been possible for me to abstain,
“ for one day, from immoderate drinking, and to
“ keep my companions from the like excess?

“ But, that it may not be thought that I, only, act
“ with frankness and simplicity, let us hear my bro-
“ ther, whose conduct is sincere and undisguised, and
“ who does not harbour the least suspicion. All, says
“ he, that I know, and the only thing I have to com-
“ plain of, is, that they came armed to my house,
“ upon pretence of engaging in a party of pleasure.
“ Should I ask you how you came to know this, you
“ will be forced to own, either that my house was
“ filled with spies sent by you, or else that my atten-
“ dants had taken up arms in so open a manner, that
“ every one knew of it. What does my brother do?
“ That he may not seem to have formerly watched
“ all my motions; nor, at this time, to ground his
“ accusation

“ accusation merely on suppositions, he beseeches you
 “ to enquire of those whom he shall name, whether
 “ people did not come armed to his house ; in order
 “ that, (as if this were a doubtful circumstance) af-
 “ ter this enquiry into an incident which they them-
 “ selves own and confess, they may be considered as
 “ legally convicted. But is this the question ? Why
 “ do not you desire an enquiry to be made whether
 “ they took up arms to assassinate you, and if they
 “ did it with my knowledge, and at my request ? For
 “ it is this you pretend ; and not what they them-
 “ selves own publicly, and which is very manifest,
 “ that they took up arms in no other view but to de-
 “ fend themselves. Whether they had or had not
 “ reason to arm themselves, that they are to inform
 “ you. Do not blend and confound my cause with
 “ theirs, for they are quite distinct and separate.
 “ Only tell us, whether we really intended to attack
 “ you openly or by surprize. If openly, why did
 “ we not all take up arms ? Why were those only
 “ armed who had insulted your spy ? In case it was to
 “ have been by surprize, in what manner would the
 “ attack have been made ? Would it have been at the
 “ end of the feast in your house, and after I had left
 “ it with my company, would the four men in que-
 “ stion have staid behind, to have fallen upon you
 “ when asleep ? How would it have been possible for
 “ them, as they were strangers, in my service, to con-
 “ ceal themselves in your house ; and as they could
 “ not but be very much suspected, having been seen
 “ but a few hours before engaged in the quarrel ?
 “ Again, supposing they had found an opportunity to
 “ murder you, in what manner could they have
 “ escaped ? Could four men armed, have been able
 “ to make themselves masters of your house ?

“ But to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come
 “ to what really pains you, and which you have so
 “ much at heart : For what reason (methinks I hear
 “ my brother say) wherefore (O Demetrius) do the
 “ people talk of making you king ? Why do some
 “ persons

“ persons think you more worthy than I, of succeeding our father? Why do you make my hopes doubtful and uncertain, which, were it not for you, would have been established on the most solid foundation?—Such are the reflections which Perseus revolves in his mind, though he does not express himself in this manner: It is this raises his enmity against me, and prompts him to charge me with such horrid attempts: It is this fills the palace, and every part of the kingdom, with suspicions and accusations. If it does not become me, sir, so much as to hope the scepter, nor perhaps ever to think of contesting it, because it is your will and pleasure that I should yield to my elder brother; it does not follow that I ought to make myself appear unworthy of it, either to * you (my royal father) or to all the Macedonians; a circumstance which nothing but my ill conduct could occasion. I can, indeed, through moderation, resign it to whom it belongs; but I cannot prevail with myself to renounce my virtue and good name.

“ You reproach me with the affection of the Romans, and impute that to me for a crime, which ought to be my glory. I did not desire to be sent to Rome, neither as an hostage at first, nor afterwards as ambassador: This, sir, you yourself very well know. When you ordered me to go thither, I obeyed your commands; and I believe my conduct and behaviour were such, as cannot reflect the least dishonour either on yourself, your crown, or the Macedonian nation. It is therefore yourself, sir, that occasioned the friendship I have contracted with the Romans. So long as you shall be at peace with them, so long our friendship will subsist: But the moment the trumpet sounds for war, though I have been an hostage among them, and exercised the functions of an ambassador in such a manner, as, perhaps, has not been disadvantageous to my father;

Vol. VI. Q “ from

* *Instead of indignus te patre, Gronovius reads, indignus tibi pa-* *ter; which seems to agree better with the context.*

“ from that moment, I say, I shall declare myself
 “ their enemy. I do not desire to reap any benefit on
 “ the present occasion, from the love which the Ro-
 “ mans have for me; all I intreat is, that it may
 “ not be of prejudice to me. It was not begun in
 “ war, nor is it designed to subsist in it. As an hos-
 “ tage and an ambassador, peace was my only object;
 “ let that be neither considered in me as a crime or a
 “ merit.

“ If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I
 “ owe you, sir; if I have formed any criminal enter-
 “ prize against my brother, let me be punished as I
 “ deserve: But if I am innocent, this I claim; that
 “ as I cannot be convicted of the least guilt, I may
 “ not fall a victim to envy. This is not the first time
 “ that my brother has charged me with harbouring
 “ horrid designs; but it is the first time he has at-
 “ tempted to do it openly, though without the least
 “ foundation. Was my father exasperated against
 “ me, it would be your duty, as the elder, kindly to
 “ intercede for your younger brother; to solicit his
 “ pardon, to intreat that some regard might be shewn
 “ to his youth; and that a fault, which had been
 “ committed merely through inadvertency, might be
 “ overlooked. My ruin comes from that very quar-
 “ ter, whence I might naturally have expected my
 “ safety.

“ Though not quite awake, after the feast and
 “ party of pleasure, I am dragged hither on a sud-
 “ den, to answer a charge of fratricide; and am forced
 “ to plead my own cause, unassisted by counsellors,
 “ and unsupported by the advice or credit of a single
 “ person. Had I been to speak in favour of another,
 “ I should have taken time to prepare and compose
 “ my discourse; and yet, on such an occasion, my
 “ reputation only would have laid at stake, and I
 “ should have had nothing to do but to display my
 “ wit and eloquence. — At this instant, without
 “ knowing the cause for which I am ordered to ap-
 “ pear in this place, I hear an offended father, com-
 “ manding

“ manding me to make my defence ; and a brother,
“ charging me with the most horrid crimes. Perseus
“ has had all the time he could desire to prepare his
“ accusation, whilst unhappy I did not so much as
“ know what the business was, till the very instant
“ the accusation was brought against me. In this
“ rapid moment, ought I to be more attentive to my
“ accuser, than studious of my own apology ? Sur-
“ prized by a sudden and unforeseen accusation, I
“ could scarce comprehend what was laid to my
“ charge, so far from being able to know how to
“ make a defence. What hopes, what refuge could
“ I have left, did I not know that it is my royal fa-
“ ther who is to judge ? He may shew a greater af-
“ fection for my brother, as the elder ; but he owes
“ more compassion to me, as being the party accused :
“ I myself conjure you to preserve my life for your
“ own sake and mine ; whereas Perseus insists upon
“ your sacrificing me to his safety. What may you
“ not naturally expect from him, when you shall once
“ have invested him with your authority, as he now
“ demands your favour in preference to me, at no less
“ a price than my blood ?”

Whilst Demetrius defended himself in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep sighs and groans, intermixed with tears. Philip, dismissing both of them for a moment, advised with his friends ; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them :
“ I will not pronounce sentence on this affair, from
“ mere words and a few transient speeches, but from
“ the enquiry I shall make into your conduct ; from
“ your behaviour in small as well as great things, and
“ from your words as well as actions.” This judge-
ment shewed plainly enough, That although Deme-
trius had cleared himself with regard to the charge of
endeavouring to take away his brother's life, Philip
however suspected him from his union with the Ro-
mans. These were in a manner the first sparks of the
war, that appeared in Philip's life-time, and which
were to break into a flame under Perseus his successor.

A. M. 3823.
Ant. J. C. 181. (a) The king, some time after, sent Philocles and Apelles as his ambassadors to Rome, not so much with the design of employing them in any negotiation, as to enquire how the inhabitants of that city stood affected with regard to Demetrius; and to enquire secretly into what he had said there (particularly to Quintius) with regard to the succession to the throne. Philip imagined that these two men were not attached to any party; but they were Perseus's adherents, and had engaged in his conspiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was transacting (his brother's accusation excepted) had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father; especially when he found that his brother had so ordered matters, that he could not have the least access to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to shun all occasions of suspicion and envy. He avoided speaking of the Romans, or holding the least correspondence with them, even by letter; knowing it was this that chiefly incensed the Macedonians against him. He ought to have taken these precautions sooner; but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and sincere in all things, and judged of others from himself, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whose intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of mount Hæmus the Black sea and the Adriatick, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be discovered, was curious to have an ocular demonstration of it; imagining that this prospect might be of some service to the design he meditated, of making Italy the seat of war. He only took Perseus with him, and sent Demetrius into Macedonia; appointing Didas, governor of Pœonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to escort him. This governor was a creature of Perseus, who had taught him his lesson perfectly; and exhorted him, above all things, to insinuate himself as artfully as possible

possible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to discover all his secrets.

Didas executed his commission but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius said, - lamented his ill fate, seemed to detest the injustice and insincerity of his enemies, who represented him, on all occasions, in the most odious light to his father, and offered to serve him to the utmost, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at last resolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means (for it was necessary to pass through Pæonia, of which Didas, as I observed above, was governor) and accordingly he revealed his design to him. Didas, without loss of time, sent advice of this to Perseus, and the latter to king Philip; who, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues in his journey up mount Hæmus, was returned with no better informations from his enquiry than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not however refute the vulgar opinion; in all probability, that they might not expose so ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the publick; rather than because they had seen, from one and the same spot, river, seas, and mountains, at so vast a distance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the siege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius's bosom-friend, was seized, and strict orders were given, to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait till the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them; and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with the counterfeit seal of T. Quintius, in which he desired Philip, "not to be offended at his son Demetrius, for some unguarded expressions

“ which might have escaped him, with respect to the
 “ succession to the crown ; assuring him, that he would
 “ not engage in any attempt contrary to the ties of
 “ blood and nature.” He concluded with observing,
 “ that it was never in his thoughts to give him such
 “ counsel.” This letter confirmed all that Perseus
 had advanced against his brother. Herodotus was put
 to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging
 his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king.
 His having projected the design of flying to the Ro-
 mans, through Pæonia ; and of bribing certain per-
 sons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to
 him. But the circumstance which bore hardest against
 him was, the forged letter of Quintius. His father
 nevertheless did not declare himself publicly against
 him, resolving to make away with him secretly ; not
 out of regard to his son, but lest the noise, which the
 bringing him to execution would make, should disco-
 ver too visibly the designs he projected against Rome.
 At his leaving Thessalonica to go for Demetrias, he
 commanded Didas to dispatch the young prince. The
 latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pæonia,
 poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after
 a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drank the deadly
 draught, but he found himself seized with violent
 pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining
 bitterly of his father’s cruelty, and loudly charging
 his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas
 with his barbarous treachery. His pains increasing,
 two of Didas’s domesticks entered the room, threw
 blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was
 the end of this young prince, who deserved a much
 better fate.

A. M. 3825. Ant. J. C. 179. (c) Almost two years were elapsed, before the con-
 spiracy of Perseus against his brother was discovered.
 In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and re-
 morse, incessantly deplored his son’s murder, and re-
 proached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son,
 who

who looked upon himself already as king, and to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to him, to see his old age despised; some waiting with the utmost impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew of another* Antigonus, who had been Philip's guardian; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the midst of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him; but this inviolable attachment to his father made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed, when that prince should succeed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought; and would, from time to time, sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition; when sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried, he entered into his sentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves some footsteps, by which it may be discerned, he used his utmost endeavours to trace out the secret intrigues of Perseus's conspiracy.

The persons who had the greatest concern in that black affair, and of whom the strongest suspicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been sent ambassadors to Rome; and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintus Flaminus, the letter which had proved so fatal to the young prince. It was generally whispered at court, that this whole letter was forged; but still this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very

Q 4

luckily,

* He was surnamed Dofon.

luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles in quality of secretary of the embassy, happened upon some occasion to apply to Antigonus. Immediately he put him under an arrest, caused him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a strong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined (says he) royal sir, from several things I have heard you say, that nothing could give you greater pleasure, than to know exactly what idea you ought to entertain of your two sons; and to discover which of them it was that made an attempt on the other's life. You now have in your power the man who is best able to give you a perfect account of that whole affair, and this is Xychus. He is now in your palace, and you may command him to be sent for." Xychus being immediately brought in, he first denied every thing; but he spoke so very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full discovery, upon being ever so little intimidated. Accordingly, the instant that the officer of justice appeared, he made a full confession, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambassadors, and the share he himself had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was seized; but Apelles, who was absent, hearing that Xychus had made a full discovery, fled to Italy. History does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that after having resolutely denied the charge at first, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other historians, he bore the torture with the utmost fortitude, and asserted his innocence to the last gasp. All these things only revived the sorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections to his murdered son, or to him who was still living.

Perseus being informed that his whole plot had been discovered, knew too well his own power and credit, to believe it necessary to secure himself by flight. The only precaution he took was, a resolution to keep at a distance from court, as long as his father

father should live, in order to withdraw himself from his resentment.

Philip did not believe it in his power to seize Perseus, and bring him to condign punishment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying, with impunity, the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he sent for Antigonus, to whose great care he owed the discovery of the conspiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his personal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. "Reduced (says Philip) to the deplorable necessity of wishing that my fate, which other fathers detest as the most dreadful calamity that can befall them (the being childless) I now am resolving to bequeath to you a kingdom, which I owe to the guardianship of your uncle; and which he not only preserved by his fidelity, but enlarged considerably by his valour. I know no man worthy of the crown but yourself. And were there none capable of wearing it with dignity, I had infinitely rather it should be lost for ever, than that Perseus should have it, as the reward of his impious perfidy. Methinks, I shall see Demetrius rise from the sepulchre, and restored to his father, if I can be so happy as to substitute you in his place; you, who only bewailed the untimely death of my dear son, and the unhappy credulity which proved his destruction."

After this, he bestowed the highest honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the most advantageous light to the publick. Whilst Perseus resided in Thrace, Philip made a progress through several cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greatest distinction, with the utmost zeal and affection; and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in possession of the throne. Having left Demetrias, he made a considerable stay in Thessalonica, from whence he went
to

to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerously ill. The physicians declared, that his sickness proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he saw, in the dead of night, the ghost of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curses on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his sons with a shower of tears, and venting the most horrid imprecations against the other. Antigonus might have been raised to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes, the physician, who presided in all the consultations, did not stay till the king had breathed his last; but the very instant he saw that it was impossible for him to recover, he dispatched couriers to Perseus; it having been agreed between them, that he should keep some in readiness for that purpose; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perseus appeared, whose sudden arrival surprized all people. He then took possession of the crown which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years, the four last of which were employed in war against the Romans, for which he made preparations from his accession to the throne. At last, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the series of Perseus's history, which has scarce any connexion with that of the other kings, I shall refer it to the following book, where it shall be related at large, and without interruption.

SECT. II. *The death of SELEUCUS PHILOPATER, whose reign was short and obscure. He is succeeded by his brother ANTIOCHUS, surnamed EPIPHANES. Sparks of the war which afterwards broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria. ANTIOCHUS gains a victory over PTOLEMY. The conqueror possesses himself of Egypt, and takes the king prisoner. A report prevailing that there was a general revolt, he goes into Palestine; besieges and takes Jerusalem, where he exercises the most horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of PHILOMETOR, who was ANTIOCHUS's prisoner, raise to the throne his younger brother PTOLEMY EVERGETES, surnamed also PHYSCON. ANTIOCHUS renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay siege to it. POPILIUS, one of the Roman ambassadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to molest the two brothers.*

SELEUCUS Philopator did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of (a) Maccabees. The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. Onias the high-priest, inspired by a spirit of piety, caused the laws of God to be strictly observed there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnished, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless, the perfidy of a Jew, called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden a great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which Onias the high-priest made to his unjust enterprizes, informed the king, that there were immense treasures in the temple, which were not designed for the service of the sacrifices, and that he might seize upon them all. The king, on this infor-

information, sent Heliodorus his first minister to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and asked him, whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treasure, was true? The high-priest told him, that these treasures were only deposited there as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not in any manner dispose of them in wrong of those to whom they belonged; and who imagined that they could not secure them better, than by depositing them in a temple, the holiness of which was revered throughout the whole universe. This treasure consisted of four hundred talents of silver (about fifty thousand pounds sterling) and in two hundred talents of gold (three hundred thousand pounds sterling.) However, the minister sent from the prince, insisting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the consequence, must all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the resolution to execute his commission. Immediately the whole city was seized with the utmost terror. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; beseeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to deposits, to preserve those laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly besought the Creator upon their knees, not to suffer so holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with sackcloth, were seen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a spectacle truly worthy of compassion, to see such multitudes, and especially the high-priest, pierced with the deepest affliction, upon account of so impious a sacrilege.

By this time Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treasury, and preparing to

break

break it open. But the * spirit of the Almighty now revealed itself by the most sensible marks ; insomuch that all those who had dared to obey Heliodorus, were struck down by a divine power, and seized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which rushing at once upon Heliodorus, struck him several times with his fore-feet. The man who sat on this horse had a terrible aspect, and his arms seemed of gold. At the same time were seen two young men, whose beauty dazzled the eye, and who, standing on each side of Heliodorus, scourged him incessantly, and in the most violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorus falling from his horse, was taken up and put into his litter ; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple, followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to succour him ; and that, because the power of God had displayed itself in the strongest manner. By the same power he was cast to the ground, speechless, and without shewing the least sign of life ; whilst the temple, which before resounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raised the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now some of Heliodorus's friends besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. Whilst he was praying, the two young men above-mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him : " Return thanks " to Onias the high-priest ; for it is for his sake that " the Lord has granted you life. After having been " scourged from heaven, declare to the whole world " his miraculous power." Having spoke these words, they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices, and made solemn vows to him who had restored him to life. He returned

* Sed spiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit suæ ostentationis evidentiam.

turned thanks to Onias, and went his way ; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye-witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered, “ In case you have any enemy, or any traiterous wretch “ who has a design upon your crown, send him thither, and you will see him return back quite flead “ with scourging, and he perhaps may die under it. “ For he who inhabiteth the heavens, is himself pre- “ sent in that place : He is the guardian and protec- “ tor of it ; and he strikes those mortally who go “ thither to injure it.”

The king was soon punished for this sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great having, after his defeat at Sypilus, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus, one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. (b) He resided thirteen years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known (perhaps to put him at the head of some military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing ;) and to obtain him, he sent Demetrius his only son, who was but twelve years of age, to Rome, as an hostage in Antiochus's room. During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not returned from it, Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, seize upon it, by taking off Seleucus ; and accordingly he poisoned him.

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In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After speaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, (c) *Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom ; but within few days * he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.* These few words denote evidently the short and obscure reign of

(b) Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

(c) Dan. xi. 20.

* The Hebrew word may signify either days or years.

of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out still more clearly. *There shall arise up in his place (of Antiochus) a man who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, shall cause to pass away, and shall destroy the glory of the kingdom.* And indeed this was the sole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furnish the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, a thousand * talents annually; and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

(d) Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told, that the usurper had a very strong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whose claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's sister. Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who seated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel, from verse 21. of chapter xi. to the end of chapter xii. foretels every thing that was to befall Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elsewhere by the (e) *little horn which was to issue out of one of the four large horns.* I shall explain this prophecy hereafter.

Here (chap. xi. verse 21.) the prophet describes his accession to the throne. *And in his (Seleucus's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: But he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* Antiochus's conduct shall show how vile he was. It is said, *that to him they shall not give the honours of the kingdom.* He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son who was his lawful heir, or by the free choice of the people;

(d) Appian. in Syr. p. 116, 117. Hieron. in Dan. viii. 9.

* About 150,000 l.

(e) Dan.

ple; Eumenes and Attalus having set it on his head. Being returned from the West *peaceably (or rather secretly)* to surprize his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a specious appearance of clemency.

(f) He assumed the title of *Epiphānes*, that is, *illustrious*; which title was never worse applied. The whole series of his life will shew, that he deserved much more that of *Epimanēs* (*mad or furious*) which some people gave him.

Some circumstances related of him prove how justly the epithet *vile* is bestowed upon him in scripture. He used frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domesticks, and ramble up and down the streets of Antiöch. He would spend his time in talking with goldsmiths and engravers in their shops; and in disputing with them on the most minute particulars relating to the arts they professed, and which he ridiculously boasted he understood as well as they. He would very often stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places where they were assembled. On these occasions he would sit and drink with foreigners of the meanest condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleasure between young people, he used to go (without saying a word to any person) and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouse and sing with them, without observing the least order or decorum. He sometimes would take it into his head to divest himself of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe; and in that garb would go from street to street, as he had seen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He asked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another; and sometimes would set up for ædile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himself elected, he would call for the Curule chair*; when seating himself in it, he
judged

(f) Athen. l. v. p. 193.

* This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magistrates.

judged the petty suits relating to contracts of buying or selling; and pronounced sentence with as much seriousness and gravity, as if he decided affairs of the utmost importance. We are likewise told, that he was very much given to drinking; that he squandered away a great part of his revenues in excess and debauch; and that, when intoxicated in liquor, he would frequently scower up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, *Catch as catch can*. At other times, he would leave his palace (dressed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roses on his head) and walk without attendants about the streets; on which occasions, if any person offered to follow him, he used to pelt him with stones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe for that purpose. He used often to go and bathe himself in the publick baths with the common people, where he committed such extravagances, as made every body despise him. After what has been said (and I omit a great many other particulars) I submit to the reader's judgment, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of *senseless*, rather than that of *illustrious*.

(g) Scarce was Antiochus well seated on the throne, but Jason, brother of Onias, the Jewish high-priest, having formed a design to supplant his brother, offered that prince, secretly, three-hundred-and-sixty talents (about ninety thousand pounds sterling) besides eighty more (about twelve thousand pounds) for another article, upon condition that he should appoint him high-priest. He succeeded in his negotiation; and accordingly Onias, who was universally revered for his strict piety and justice, was deposed, and Jason established in his room. The latter subverted entirely the religion of his ancestors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewish nation, as appears from the second book of the Maccabees, and Josephus.

(h) In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had assumed the regency, and the tuition of her young son;

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son;

(g) 2 Maccab. c. iv.

(h) Hieron. in Dan.

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son; and had acquitted herself with the greatest care and prudence. But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to superintend the king's education. These were no sooner in their employments, but they sent a deputation to demand Cœlosyria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very soon after occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of these kings, and sister to the other, had prevented them as long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not shew so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed their sovereign's right. (i) It is certain, that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces from the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great dispossessed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus his son, with no other right than that of conquest. They had descended, from the latter, to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretensions, declared, that, in the last division of the empire between the four successors of Alexander, who possessed themselves of all countries after the battle of Issus, these provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himself, and his successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time, till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to dispossess Egypt of those provinces: That this prince had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him at the same time those provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage-contract.

Antiochus denied both these facts; and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria (including Cœlosyria and Palestine) had been assigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that consequently they belong-

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(i) Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxii—lxxxii.

ed justly to the prince in possession of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted, that it was an absolute chimæra. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides, without coming to any conclusion, they found it necessary to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

(*k*) Ptolemy Philometor, being entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador, to be present on that occasion, and to congratulate him upon it in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was, to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, as well as what measures were taking with regard to them. The instant he heard, on the return of Apollonius; that all things were preparing for war, he went by sea to Joppa, visited the frontiers of the country, and put it into a condition of defending itself against all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progress, he took Jerusalem in his way. Jason and the whole city received him there with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the honours paid him in Jerusalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city and the whole Jewish nation. From Jerusalem he went to Phœnicia, and after having settled all things in every place through which he passed, he returned to Antioch.

(*l*) The same Apollonius had been sent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embassy. He made excuses to the senate for his master's having sent the tribute later than was stipulated by the treaty. Besides the sum due, he made a present to the people of several golden vases. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendship, which had been grant-

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ed

(*k*) i Maccab. iv. 21, 22.(*l*) Liv. l. xl. n. 6.

ed his father, should be renewed with him; and desired that the Romans would give him such orders as suited a king, who valued himself on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his sovereign could never forget the great favours he received from the senate; from all the youths of Rome; and from persons of all ranks and conditions during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as an hostage, but as a monarch. The senate made an obliging answer to these several particulars, and dismissed Apollonius, with the highest marks of distinction, and laden with presents. It was well known, from the Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much esteemed by the king, and had the highest regard for the Romans.

A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172. (m) Jason, the year following, sent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negotiate some other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, instead of confining himself to the orders of his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering three hundred talents more than he did. This new choice gave rise to tumults, disorders, murders, and sacrilegious acts; but the death of Onias, who was universally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, though so very hard-hearted, however lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign punishment. I make only a transient mention of these facts, and omit the principal circumstances of them, because they belong properly to the history of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only such particulars at large as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in such a manner as to preserve their beauty.

A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. (n) Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with

(m) 2 Maccab. iv. 23, &c. (n) Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxi, lxxii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. Legat. xviii. Hieron. in Daniel.

with which he saw himself threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœlosyria and Palestine; finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but sixteen, and was governed entirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded that the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, were engaged in so many affairs, that it would be impossible for them to give the latter the least succour; and that the war they were carrying on against Perseus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leisure for it. In a word, he thought the present juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of those provinces.

In the mean time, to observe measures with the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the senate to represent the right he had to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Palestine, of which he was actually possessed, and the necessity he was under of engaging in a war in order for the support of them; immediately after which he put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near mount Casius and Pelusium; and fought a battle, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made so good an use of his success, that he put the frontier in a condition to serve as a barrier, and to check the utmost efforts the Egyptians might make to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into Egypt: After which, without engaging in any other enterprize that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter-quarters for his army.

(o) During his stay there, three persons deputed from the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty in his presence of impiety and sacrilege. The king was going to condemn him, but, at the request of Ptolemy Ma-

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cron,

cron, one of his ministers in the interest of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies as false witnesses; *an action*, says the author of the Maccabees, *(p)* *so very unjust, that, before the Scythians, they would have been judged innocent.* The Tyrians, touched with compassion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

(q) This Ptolemy Macron, having formerly been governor of the island of Cyprus under king Ptolemy Philometor, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the ministers, though they made the warmest instances upon that head; but had constantly refused to regard them, from justly suspecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole treasure to Alexandria, and deposited it in the exchequer. A rare instance of a noble disregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his disposal! So considerable a sum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious credit at court. But afterwards, exasperated at some ill treatment he met with from the ministers, or at his not having been rewarded for so important a service, he rebelled against Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus's service, and delivered up the island of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite satisfaction, took him into the number of his confidants, made him governor of Coelosyria and Palestine; and sent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the castle at Jerusalem under Sostratus. Large mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.

(r) Antiochus spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into Egypt; and, the instant the season would permit it, invaded
that

(p) 2 Maccab. iv. 47. *(q)* Polyb. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 126.
2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 8. iv. 29. & 1 Maccab. iii. 38. *(r)* 2 Mac.
v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17---20. Hieron. in Dan. Diod. in Excerpt.
Valef. p. 311.

that country both by sea and land. Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but without success; for Antiochus gained a second battle on the frontiers, took the city of Pelusium, and marched to the very center of Egypt. In this last defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have suffered a single man to escape; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him; so that he soon took Memphis and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him.

Philometor was either taken, or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, seemingly, in great friendship; and, for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interests of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But, when he had once possessed himself of the country, under that pretext he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself, as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

(s) Philometor made a miserable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shewn himself to those who fought for him. And after the battle, in how abject a manner did he submit himself to Antiochus, by whom he suffered himself to be dispossessed of so fine a kingdom, without undertaking any thing to preserve it! This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity (for he afterwards gave proofs of both) as the effect of his soft and effeminate education under Eulæus his governor. That eunuch, who also was his prime minister, had used his utmost endeavours to plunge him in luxury and

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effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs, and to make himself as necessary when the young prince should be of age, as he had been during his minority; and thereby engross all power in his own hands.

(*t*) Whilst Antiochus was in Egypt, a false report of his death spread throughout Palestine. Jason thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had lost in that country. Accordingly he marched with a few more than a thousand men to Jerusalem; and there, by the assistance of his partisans in the city, made himself master of it; drove out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exercised every species of cruelty upon his fellow-citizens, and unmercifully put to death all those that fell into his hands, and whom he considered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general insurrection, and therefore set forward immediately to quell it. The circumstance which mostly exasperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings, when a false report had prevailed of his death. He therefore besieged the city, took it by storm; and during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, he caused fourscore thousand men to be inhumanly butchered. Forty thousand were also taken prisoners, and the like number sold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet satisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple as far as the sanctuary and the most sacred places; even polluting, by his presence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the shew-bread, the candlestick with seven branches belonging to the sanctuary (all these were of gold;) with several other vases, utensils, and gifts of kings, also of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch

(*t*) 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 15—21. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxxiv. Eclog. 1. Hieron. in Dan.

Antioch laden with the spoils of Judæa and Egypt, all which together amounted to immense * fums. To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his setting out, appointed, as governor over Judæa, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty : He nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous disposition, governor of Samaria ; and bestowed on Menelaus, the most wicked of the three, the title of high-priest, investing him with the authority annexed to that office.

(u) Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jerusalem by strange phænomenas in the skies, that had appeared there, some time before, during forty days successively. These were men, some on horseback, and others on foot, armed with shields, lances, and swords, who, forming considerable bodies, combated in the air like two armies in battle.

(x) The Alexandrians, seeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom at discretion, considered him as lost to them, and therefore seated his younger brother upon the throne, which they first declared void. (y) On this occasion he had the name of Ptolemy *Evergetes* II. given him, which was soon changed to that of *Cacergetes* ; the former signifying *beneficent*, and the latter *malevolent*. He afterwards was nicknamed † *Phyſcon*, or *tun-bellied*, because his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. (z) Most historians mention him under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief ministers, and were ordered to use their utmost endeavours to restore, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition.

Antio-

(u) 2 Maccab. v. 2---4.
Scalig. . (y) Athen. l. iv. p. 184.

* We are told in the Maccabees, Book II. ch. i. ver. 14. that he carried off from the temple, only eighteen hundred talents, which are equivalent to about two hundred and seventy

(x) Porphy. in Græc. Euseb.
(z) Polyb. in Leg. c. lxxxii.

thousand pounds sterling.
† Φύσων ventricosus, obesus, from φύσιν, Crassum intestinum, venter.

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Antiochus, who had advice of what was transacting, took occasion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch; but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea-fight near Pelusium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his two ministers, who advised him to summon a grand council, composed of all the principal officers of the army; and to deliberate with them on the measures proper to be taken in the present exigency. After many debates, they came at last to this resolution; that, as their affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be absolutely necessary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, should be desired to employ their mediation; to which they readily consented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambassadors, who had the same instructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their proposals on the morrow. The Achæans spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Eulæus; ascribing the calamities of the war to his mal-administration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometor. At the same time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetorick to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy; laying great stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the answer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cause and origin of the war; took occasion from thence to enforce the right he had to Cœlosyria and Palestine; alledged the reasons we have

related above ; and produced some authentick instruments, which were judged so strong, that all the members of this congress were convinced that he had the justest right to those provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity ; promising them that he would make preparations for a solemn treaty, as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him ; declaring, at the same time, that he would not take a single step without them.

After this answer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to besiege it. (a) In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes, and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome, representing the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared, in the audience to which they were admitted by the senate, with all the marks of sorrow used at that time in the greatest afflictions, and made a speech still more affecting. They observed, that the authority of the Romans was so much revered by all nations and kings ; and that Antiochus, particularly, had received so many obligations from them, that, if they would only declare by their ambassadors, that the senate did not approve of his making war against kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria. That, should the senate refuse to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome ; and that it would reflect a dishonour on the Romans, should the world have an opportunity to say, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were so desperate.

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it would not be for the interest of the Romans to suffer Antiochus to attain to such an height
of

(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 19. Polyb, Legat. xc.

of power, which would be too formidable, should he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negotiation. Their instructions were, that they should first wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; should order them, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war: And that, should either of the parties refuse a compliance, the Romans would no longer consider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, they set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

(*b*) A little before their departure, some Rhodian ambassadors arrived in Egypt, who came expressly to terminate, if possible, the divisions between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; strongly insisting on the friendship with which both crowns had so long honoured them; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to settle a lasting peace between them. As they expatiated considerably on these common places, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in few words, That they had no occasion to make long harangues on this subject; that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

(*c*) He said these words, but harboured a very different design; his view being only to perplex affairs, for the attainment of his own ends. The resistance he met with from Alexandria, the siege of which he plainly saw he should be forced to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would hence-forwards be his interest to keep up an enmity, and oc-
casion

(*b*) Polyb. Legat. lxxxiv.

(*c*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 11.

casion a war between the two brothers, which might weaken them to such a degree, that it should be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleased. In this view he raised the siege, marched towards Memphis, and gave Philometor, in outward appearance, possession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleased, and the instant matters should be ripe for his purpose. After having made these dispositions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometor began at last to wake from the lethargy into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be sensible of all the calamities these revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to see through Antiochus's design; and that king's keeping possession of Pelusium entirely opened his eyes. He saw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view but to re-enter by it, when his brother and himself should be reduced so low as to be unable to make the least resistance; and that then both would fall victims to his ambition. The instant therefore that Antiochus marched away, he sent to inform his brother, that he desired they might come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra their sister, on condition that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus spoke from his heart, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philometor to his throne, he would have been pleased to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining such thoughts; and I before observed, that he concealed, beneath those specious professions, an intention to crush the two brothers, after they should have reduced each other by a war.

The

(d) The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigour, sent ambassadors into Greece, to desire some auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only a thousand foot under the command of Lycortas, and two hundred horse under Polybius. They had also given orders for raising a thousand mercenary troops. Callicrates, who presided in the assembly, opposed the request made by the ambassadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates, to concern themselves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to preserve their soldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would soon come to a battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius then speaking, observed, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him; the consul thanked him, and said, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Besides, that as the league was able, without the least inconveniency, to levy thirty or forty thousand men; consequently so small a number as was desired by the Egyptian princes would not lessen their strength. That the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings; that it would be the highest ingratitude in them, to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refusal on this occasion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates dismissed the ambassadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in such an assembly.

It therefore was held, some time after, in Sicyon;
and

and as the members were upon the point of taking the same resolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus, and in consequence caused a decree to pass, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to send only an embassy to those princes.

(e) The instant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he resolved to employ his whole force against them. Accordingly, he sent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preserve the possession of that island: At the same time he marched at the head of a very powerful land-army, with the design to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cause of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometor, who told him, That their sovereign was very sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus; that he conjured him not to destroy his own work by employing fire and sword; but, on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretensions. Antiochus, throwing off the mask, no longer used the tender and affectionate expressions, of which he had till then been so ostentatiously lavish, but declared himself at once an enemy to both. He told the ambassadors, that he insisted upon having the island of Cyprus, with the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile, on which it was situated, resigned to him for ever; assuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.

The time being elapsed, and the satisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hostilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country through which he passed; and there received the submission of almost all the rest of the kingdom. He afterwards marched toward Alexandria, with design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have

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have made him absolute master of all Egypt. He would certainly have succeeded in his enterprize, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy, which broke all the measures he had been so long taking, in order to possess himself of Egypt.

We before observed, that the ambassadors, who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmost diligence. They landed at Alexandria, just at the time Antiochus was marching to besiege it. The ambassadors came up with him at * Eleusine, which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was an hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him, as his old friend. The Roman, who did not consider himself on that occasion as a private man, but a servant of the publick, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend, or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raising his voice; *Answer*, says he, *the senate, before you stir out of that circle.* The king, quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities, and behaved afterwards in all respects as an old friend. † How effectual was this blunt loftiness of sentiments and expression! The Roman with a few words strikes terror into the king of Syria, and saves the king of Egypt.

The circumstance which made the one so bold, and the other so submissive, was the news that arrived just before of the great victory gained by the Romans over

Perseus

* *Turnebius and H. Valesius think that we should read, in Livy, Eleusinem instead of Leusinem.*

† *Quam efficax est animi ser-*

monisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Egypti texit. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 4.

Perseus king of Macedonia. From that instant every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he signed the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then crossed into Cyprus; sent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians; restored the whole island to the kings of Egypt, who laid a just claim to it; and returned to Rome, in order to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies, and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there almost at the same time. The former said, "That the peace which the senate had been pleased to grant their sovereign, appeared to him more glorious than the most splendid conquests; and that he had obeyed the commands of the Roman ambassadors as strictly as if they had been sent from the gods." How groveling, and, at the same time, how impious was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The rest of the ambassadors declared, in the like extravagant strain; "That the two Ptolemies and Cleopatra thought themselves bound in as great obligations to the senate and people of Rome, as to their parents, and even to the gods; having been delivered, by the protection which Rome had granted them, from a very grievous siege; and re-established on the throne of their ancestors, of which they had been almost entirely dispossessed." The senate answered, "That Antiochus acted wisely in paying obedience to the ambassadors; and that the people and senate of Rome were pleased with him for it." Methinks this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered; "That the senate were very much pleased with the opportunity of doing them some service;

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“ and that they would endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to look upon the friendship and protection of the Romans, as the most solid support of their kingdom.” The prætor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

SECT. III. ANTIOCHUS, *enraged at what had happened in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God in Jerusalem. He exercises the most horrid cruelties in that city. The generous resistance made by MATTATHIAS, who, in his expiring moments, exhorts his sons to fight in defence of the law of God. JUDAS MACCABEUS gains several victories over the generals and armies of ANTIOCHUS. That prince, who had marched into Persia, in order to amass treasures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is shamefully repulsed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judæa, he sets out on a sudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march, he is struck by the hand of heaven, and dies in the greatest torments, after having reigned eleven years.*

A. M. (a) ANTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, 3836.
 Ant. J. C. 168. exasperated to see himself forcibly dispossessed by the Romans, of a crown which he looked upon already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Palestine, he detached twenty-two thousand men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to destroy the city of Jerusalem.

Apollonius arrived there just two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his first coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received such cruel orders, and waited till the first day of the sabbath before he executed them. But then, seeing all the people assembled peaceably in the synagogues, and paying their religious worship to the Creator,

(a) 1 Maccab. i. 30---40. and ii. ver. 24---27. Joseph. Antiqu. l. xii. c. 7.

Creator, he put in execution the barbarous commission he had received; and setting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men; and to seize all the women and children, in order that they might be exposed to sale. These commands were obeyed with the utmost cruelty and rigour. Not a single man was spared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, insomuch that every part of the city streamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered; and fire set to several parts of it, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demolished such parts of the house as were still standing; and, with the ruins, built a strong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, opposite to the temple, which it commanded. They threw a strong garrison into it, to awe the whole Jewish nation; they made it a good place of arms, furnished with good magazines, where they deposited all the spoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garrison fell on all who came to worship the true God in the temple; and shed their blood on every part of the sanctuary, which they polluted by all possible methods. A stop was put to both morning and evening-sacrifices, not one of the servants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

(b) As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular usages; to profess the same religion with the king, and to worship the same gods, and after the same manner as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, glanced nevertheless chiefly at the Jews, whom he was absolutely determined to extirpate, as well as their religion.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he sent intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to see it put in execu-

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cution;

(b) 1 Maccab. i. 41--64. & 2 Maccab. vi. 1---7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

cution; and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they seem not to have been affected with the change of their worship, or gods, they however were not very well pleased with this innovation in religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews; and desired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular *, might henceforwards be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously, and ordered Nicanor, deputy-governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian-Jupiter, as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their God and their law in this trial. Several Jews, either to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king or his officers, or else from inclination and libertinism, changed also their religion. From these different motives many fell from Israel (c); and several of those who had once taken this wicked step, joining themselves with the king's forces, became (as is but too common) greater persecutors of their unhappy brethren than the Heathens themselves, employed to execute this barbarous commission.

The intendant, who was sent into Judæa and Samaria, to see the king's decree was punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well versed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reason, was judged a fit person to invite those nations to join in it. As soon as he arrived in Jerusalem, he began by putting a stop to the

(c) 1 Maccab. vi. 21---24.

* They expressed themselves in that the God of Israel (Jekovah) was manner, because the mighty name of never uttered by the Jews.

the sacrifices which were offered up to the God of Israel, and suppressing all the observances of the Jewish law. They polluted the temple in such a manner, that it was no longer fit for the service of God; profaned the sabbaths and other festivals; forbid the circumcision of children; carried off and burnt all the copies of the law wherever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of God in every part of the country; and put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the intendant who commanded over them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels filled with idols were erected in every part of the city, and sacred groves were planted. They set officers over these, who caused all the people in general to offer sacrifices in them every month, the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat swine's flesh, and other unclean animals sacrificed there.

(d) One of these officers, Apelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of God. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father, Asmoneus, the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God as himself. These were Joannan, surnamed *Gaddis*; Simon, surnamed *Thasi*; Judas, surnamed *Maccabeus*; Eleazar, called *Abaron*; and Jonathan, called *Apphus*. Being arrived in Modin, Apelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised, that in case of his compliance, the king would rank him

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in

(d) 1 Maccab. ii. 1---30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly, that * though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himself, his children, and his brothers, would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of God.

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the Heathens had raised, to sacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a † just and holy indignation, he fell upon the apostate, and killed him: After this, being assisted by his sons, and some others who joined them, he also killed the king's commissioner and all his followers. Having in a manner thrown up the standard by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city; ‡ *Whosoever is zealous of the law (e), and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me.* As he now had assembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worship of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they soon were followed by others; so that all the deserts of Judæa were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the persecution.

(f) At first, when the Jews were attacked on the sabbath, for fear of violating the holiness of the day, they did not dare to make the least defence, but suffered themselves to be cut to pieces. However, they soon became sensible, that the law of the sabbath was not binding to persons in such imminent danger as themselves.

Advice

(e) 1 Maccab. vii. 27.

(f) Ibid. ii. 31---41. 2 Maccab. vi.

11. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

* Et si omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque à servitute legis patrum suorum, & consentiat mandatis ejus: ego, & filii mei, & fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum nostrorum.

† God had commanded his people to slay those who should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. See Deut. ch. xii. ver. 6---11.

‡ Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, statuens testamentum, exeat post me.

(g) Advice being brought Antiochus, that his decrees were not so implicitly obeyed in Judæa as in all other nations, went thither in person, in order to see them put in execution. He then exercised the most horrid cruelties over all such Jews as refused to abjure their religion; in order to force the rest, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them. (b) At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar; of the mother and her seven sons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their history is universally known, they appear to me so important, and relate so nearly to Antiochus, whose life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myself to omit it. I shall therefore repeat it in almost the very words of scripture.

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The extreme violence of the persecution occasioned many to fall away: But, on the other side, several continued inflexible, and chose to suffer death, rather than pollute themselves by eating impure meats. Eleazar was one of the most illustrious among these. He was a venerable old man, ninety years of age, and a doctor of the law, whose life had been one continued series of spotless innocence. He was commanded to eat swine's flesh, and endeavours were used to make him swallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious life to a criminal death, went voluntarily to execution; and persevering in his resolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to save his life.

His friends who were present, moved with an unjust compassion, took him aside, and earnestly besought him to permit them to bring him such meats as he was allowed to eat; in order that it might be imagined, that he had eaten of the meats of the sacrifice, pursuant to the king's command; and by that means save his life. But Eleazar, considering only what great age, the noble and generous sentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, an-

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swered,

(g) Joseph. de Maccab. c. iv. & v.

(b) 2 Maccab. c. vi. & vii.

fwered, pursuant to the ordinances of the holy law of
 God, that he would rather die than consent to what
 was desired from him. "It would be shameful," says
 he to them, "for me, at this age, to use such an ar-
 tifice, as many young men, upon the supposition
 that Eleazar, at fourscore-and-ten years of age, had
 embraced the principles of the Heathens, would be
 imposed upon by such deceit, which I should have
 employed to preserve the short remains of a corrup-
 tible life; and thereby I should dishonour my old
 age, and expose it to the curses of all men. Be-
 sides, supposing I should by that means avoid the
 punishment of men, I could never fly from the
 hand of the Almighty, neither in this world, nor
 in that which is to come. For this reason, if I lay
 down my life courageously, I shall appear worthy
 of old age; and still leave behind me, for the imi-
 tation of young people, an example of constancy
 and resolution, by suffering patiently an honourable
 death, for the sake of our venerable and holy laws."
 Eleazar had no sooner ended his speech, but he was
 dragged to execution. The officers that attended
 him, and who hitherto had behaved with some huma-
 nity towards him, grew furious upon what he had
 said, which they looked upon as the effect of pride.
 When the torments had made him ready to breathe
 his last, he vented a deep sigh, and said: "O Lord!
 thou who art possessed of the holy knowledge, thou
 seest that I, who could have delivered myself from
 death, do yet suffer cruel agonies in my body, but
 in my soul find joy in my sufferings, because I fear
 thee." Thus died this holy man; leaving, by his
 death, not only to the young men, but to his whole
 nation, a glorious example of virtue and resolution.

At this time seven brothers, with their mother,
 were seized; and king Antiochus would force them to
 eat swine's flesh contrary to their law, by causing their
 bodies to be scourged in a most inhuman manner. But
 the eldest of the brethren said to him; "What is it
 thou wouldst ask or have of us? We are ready to
 lay

“ lay down our lives, rather than violate the holy laws which God gave to our forefathers.” The king being exasperated at these words, ordered brazen pans and cauldrons to be heated; and, when they were red, he caused the tongue of that man who had spoke first to be cut off; had the skin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought close to the fire, and fried in the pan. Whilst these variety of tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageously, saying; “ The Lord God will have regard to truth; he will have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moses declares in his song.”

The first dying in this manner, the second was taken; and after the hair of his head, with the skin, were tore away, he was asked whether he would eat of some meats which were presented to him, otherwise, that all his limbs should be severed from his body. But he answered in the language of his country, “ I will not obey any of your commands.” He was then tortured in the same manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he spoke thus to the king: “ Wicked prince, you bereave us of this terrestrial life; but the king of heaven and earth, if we die for the defence of his laws, will one day raise us up to everlasting life.”

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and afterwards stretching forth his hands with the utmost tranquillity of mind, he bravely said; “ I received these limbs from heaven, but I now despise them, since I am to defend the laws of God; from the sure and stedfast hopes that he will one day restore them to me.” The king and all his followers were astonished at the intrepidity of this young man, who scorned the utmost efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the same manner, and being ready to die, he said to the monarch; “ It is
“ for

“ for our advantage to be killed by men, because we
 “ hope that God will restore us to life at the resurrec-
 “ tion : But you, O king, will never rise to life.”

The fifth, whilst they were tormenting him, said to Antiochus ; “ You now act according to your own
 “ will and pleasure, because you are invested with
 “ absolute human power, though you are but a mor-
 “ tal man. But do not imagine that God has for-
 “ faken our nation. Stay but a little, and you will
 “ see the wondrous effects of his power ; and in what
 “ manner he will torment yourself and your race.”

The sixth came next, who the moment before he expired, said ; “ Do not deceive yourself : It is true,
 “ indeed, our sins have drawn upon us the exquisite
 “ tortures which we now suffer : But do not flatter
 “ yourself with the hopes of impunity, after having
 “ presumed to make war against God himself.”

In the mean time their mother, supported by the hopes that she had in God, beheld, with incredible resolution, all her seven sons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wisest and most pathetick discourse, and uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother, she said to them ; “ I
 “ know not in what manner you were formed in my
 “ womb ; for it was not I who inspired you with a
 “ soul and with life, nor formed your members : But
 “ I am sure that the Creator of the world, who
 “ fashioned man, and who gave being to all things,
 “ will one day restore you to life by his infinite mercy,
 “ in return for your having despised it here, out of
 “ the love you bear to his laws.”

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance ; assuring him, with an oath, that he would raise him to riches and power ; and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being insensible to all these promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to inspire the child with salutary counsels. This she promised ; and going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty,

elty, she said to him in her native language; " Son,
" have pity on me; on me, who bore you nine months
" in my womb; who for three years fed you with milk
" from my breasts, and brought you up ever since. I
" conjure you, dear child, to look upon heaven and
" earth, and every thing they contain, and firmly to
" believe that God formed them all as well as man.
" Fear not that cruel executioner; but shew yourself
" worthy of your brethren, by submitting chearfully
" to death; in order that, by the mercy of God, I
" may receive you, together with your brothers, in the
" glory which awaits us."

As she was speaking in this manner, the young child
cried aloud; " What is it you expect from me? I do
" not obey the king's command, but the law which
" was given us by Moses. As to you, from whom
" all the calamities with which the Hebrews have
" been afflicted flow, you shall not escape the hand
" of the Almighty. Our sufferings, indeed, are ow-
" ing to our sins: But, if the Lord our God, to pu-
" nish us, was, for a little time, angry with us, he
" at last will be appeased, and be reconciled to his
" servants. But as for you, the most wicked, the
" most impious of men, do not flatter yourself with
" vain hopes. You shall not escape the judgment of
" the Creator, who is all-seeing and omnipotent. As
" to my brothers; after having suffered a moment,
" the most cruel tortures, they taste eternal joys. In
" imitation of the example they have set me, I freely
" give up my body and life for the laws of my fore-
" fathers; and I beseech God to extend his mercy
" soon to our nation; to force you by wounds and
" tortures of every kind to confess that he is the only
" God; and that his anger, which is justly fallen on
" the Hebrews, may end by my death, and that of
" my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable
to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tor-
tured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in
the same holy manner as his brethren, and with the
utmost

utmost confidence in God. At last the mother also suffered death.

A. M. 3838.
Ant. J. C. 166.
(b) Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons; and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of God against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president of the council. He afterwards died, and was interred at Modin, in the burying-place of his ancestors, all the faithful Israelites shedding floods of tears at his death.

(i) Antiochus finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous to have the same spectacle exhibited at Dapne near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite spectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, cost immense sums, and lasted several days. The part he there acted, during the whole time, answered in every respect to the character given of him by Daniel (k), who calls him a *vile* or contemptible *man*; as I have said elsewhere. He there did so many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, assembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing-stock of them all: And many of them were so much disgusted, that, to prevent their being spectators of a conduct so unworthy a prince, and so repugnant to the rules of modesty and decorum, they refused to go any more to the feasts to which he invited them.

(l) He had scarce ended the solemnization of these games, but Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambassador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him so polite and friendly a reception, that the ambassador not only laid aside all suspicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any resentment with respect to what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed those

(b) 1 Maccab. ii. 49---70. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 12. (i) Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 321.
(k) Dan. xi. 21. (l) Polyb. Legat. ci.---civ. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 322.

those who spread such reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, beside other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train, and was even going to resign his crown to him. The ambassador ought to have been politician enough to suspect all these caresses: For it is certain that Antiochus was meditating, at that time, how he might best revenge himself of the Romans; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

(*m*) Whilst Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judæa. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress, and accordingly marched directly against him. However, Judas defeated him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the like fate; and, as that general had been, was also defeated and killed in the battle.

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expences he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation; and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

(*n*) He had squandered immense sums on the games. Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every

(*m*) 1 Maccab. iii. 1.---26. 2 Maccab. viii. 5---7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 10. (n) Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

every other respect, particularly in the presents he bestowed on particular persons and whole bodies of men. He would often throw his money abundantly among his attendants and others; sometimes seasonably enough, but most frequently without sense or reason. On these occasions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he should (o) *scatter among them the prey and spoil of riches*; and the author of the (p) Maccabees says, that he had been exceedingly liberal, and had *abounded above the kings that were before him*. We are told by (q) Athenæus, that the circumstances which enabled him to defray so prodigious an expence were, first, the spoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promise he had made Philometor in his minority; secondly, the sums he had raised among his friends, by way of free gifts; lastly, (which was the most considerable article) the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had sacrilegiously invaded.

(r) Besides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others arose, according to Daniel's prophecy, *from the tidings which came to him out of the East and out of the North*. For northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled against him; and Persia, which lay eastward, discontinued the regular payment of the tribute. (s) There, as in every other part of his dominions, all things seemed in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the new ordinance by which the ancient customs of so many of his subjects were abolished; and those of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculously fond, established in their stead. These things occasioned great confusion with respect to the payments which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vast and rich empire, and had always supplied sums sufficient to defray the great expences it was necessary to be at.

(t) To remedy these grievances, as well as a multitude

(o) Dan. xi. 24.
1. v. p. 195.

(p) 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

(s) 2 Maccab. viii. 8---28.

(p) 1 Maccab. iii. 30.

(r) Dan. xi. 44. & Hieron. in hunc locum.

(t) 1 Maccab. iii. 31---60. & iv. 1---25.

Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

rude of others, he resolved to divide his forces into two parts: To give the command of one of his armies to Lyfias, descended from the blood-royal, in order that he might subdue the Jews; and to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, to reinstate the affairs of those provinces in their former flourishing condition. He accordingly left Lyfias the government of all the countries on this side the Euphrates; and the care of his son's education, who afterwards was called * *Antiochus Eupator*. After passing mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, beat Artaxias, and took him prisoner. He marched from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should have no other trouble, but to receive the tribute of that rich province, and those in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himself, that he should there find sums sufficient to fill his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon as good a foot as ever.

Whilst he was forming all these projects, Lyfias was meditating how he might best put in execution the orders he had left him, especially those which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to leave one Hebrew in the country; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make the more dispatch in this expedition, because advice was daily brought him, that the arms of Judas made prodigious progress, and increased in strength by taking all the fortresses which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judæa, seeing Judas's success, had sent expresses, with advice of this, to Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlo-syria and Palestine, on which Judæa depended; and had pressed him, by letter, to employ such measures as might best support the interests of their common sovereign in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lyfias. A resolution was therefore immediately taken, to send an army,

* He was then but seven years old.

army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generalissimo, into Judæa. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant-general; sent him before, at the head of twenty thousand men, with Gorgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, to assist him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were soon followed by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies, when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jerusalem. It consisted of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse.

Thither also repaired an army of another kind. It consisted of merchants that came to purchase the slaves, who, it was supposed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of levying large sums of money by this means, sufficient to pay * the two thousand talents which the king still owed the Romans, on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, published a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring, that all the prisoners taken in that war should be sold, at the rate of ninety for a talent †. A resolution indeed had been taken, to cut to pieces all the men grown; to reduce all the rest to a state of captivity; and one hundred and eighty thousand of the latter, at the price above-mentioned, would have sold exactly for the sum in question. The merchants, therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them (as it was a very low price) flocked thither in crowds, and brought considerable sums with them. We are told that a thousand, all of them very considerable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occasion, without including their domesticks and the persons they should want to look after the captives they intended to purchase.

Judas and his brethren, perceiving the danger with which they were threatened, by the approach of so powerful an army, which, they knew, had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewish nation, resolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themselves,

* About three hundred thousand pounds sterling. † A thousand crowns.

selves, their law, and their liberty; and, either to conquer, or die sword in hand. Accordingly they divided the six thousand men under their command into four bodies of fifteen hundred men each. Judas put himself at the head of the first, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maspha, there to offer together their prayers to God, and to implore his assistance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, because, as Jerusalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the sanctuary trampled upon, they could not assemble in it to solemnize that religious act; and Maspha seemed the fittest place for that purpose, because God was worshipped there before the foundation of the temple.

(u) Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each side very unequal, and the disposition of their minds still more so. (x) They agree, however, in one point; that is, both are firmly persuaded they shall gain the victory; the one, because they have a mighty army of well-disciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, because they put their whole trust in the God of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to the (y) law, that those who had built a house that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire; Judas's six thousand men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheless this valiant captain of the people of God, resolutely determined to fight the mighty host of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the issue to Providence; advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his soldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the present conjuncture supplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they must prepare for it.

But receiving advice that same evening, that Gor-
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(u) Judges xx. 1. (x) 1 Reg. vii. 5. (y) Deut. xx. 5, &c.

gias had been detached from the enemy's camp with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, all chosen troops; and that he was marching a by-way, through which the apostate Jews led him, in order to come and surprize his camp in the night; he was not satisfied with frustrating that design, but even made use of the very stratagem which the enemy intended to employ against him, and was successful in it. For, raising his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage, he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the best troops having been detached from it; and spread such terror and confusion into every part of it, that after three thousand Syrians had been cut to pieces, the rest fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was still at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wise captain, kept his troops together; and would not suffer them to straggle about after plunder, or in pursuit of the enemy, till they should have defeated that body also. He was successful without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having sought for him in vain in the mountains whither he supposed he had retired, withdrew at last into his camp; and finding it in a blaze, and his soldiers straggling and flying away, it was impossible for him to keep them in order; so that these threw down their arms and fled also. Then Judas, and the men under his command, pursued them vigorously, and cut to pieces a greater number on this occasion, than they had before done in the camp. Nine thousand Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greatest part of those who fled were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas marched back his soldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immense booty; and great numbers who were come, as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themselves taken prisoners and sold. The next day, being the sabbath, was solemnized in the most religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occasion, gave themselves up

to an holy joy; and unanimously returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and signal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a sensible image of the feeble opposition which the human arm is able to make against that of the Almighty, on whom only the fate of battles depends. It is evident that Judas was fully sensible of his own weakness. *How can we*, says he to the Almighty before the battle, *stand before them, unless thou thyself assistest us?* And it is as evident that he was no less firmly persuaded of the success of his arms. *The victory* (he had said above) *does not depend on the number of soldiers, but it is from heaven that all our strength comes.* But although Judas had so entire a confidence in God, he employs all those expedients which the most experienced and bravest general could use, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals! To pray with humility, because all things depend on God; and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.—— We are still possessed (thanks to the Almighty) of generals who believe it glorious to entertain such thoughts; and who, at the head of great armies, composed of as brave soldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almost unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all those human advantages, but solely on the protection of the God of armies.

(z) Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and reinforced by a great number of troops whom this success brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him to distress the rest of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants, were raising troops to fight him, he marched against them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of twenty thousand of their men.

(a) Lyfias hearing of the ill success which Antiochus's

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A. M.

3839.

Ant. J. C.

165.

(z) 2 Maccab. viii. 30---33.
Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

(a) 1 Maccab. iv. 26---35.

chus's arms had met with in Judæa, and the great losses he had sustained in that country, was in great astonishment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a strong desire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition against the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse, all chosen troops; and putting himself at their head, he marched into Judæa, firmly resolved to lay waste the whole country, and to destroy all the inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethsura, a city standing to the south of Jerusalem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced towards him at the head of ten thousand men; and, fully persuaded that the Lord would assist him, he engaged the enemy with his inconsiderable body of troops, killed five thousand of them, and put the rest to flight. Lysias, dismayed at the surprising valour of Judas's soldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch; intending, nevertheless, to come and attack them again the next year with a still more powerful body of forces.

(b) Judas, being left master of the field by the retreat of Lysias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jerusalem, where he recovered the sanctuary from the heathens, purified and dedicated it again to the service of God. This solemn dedication continued a week, all which was spent in thanksgiving for the delivery that God had vouchsafed them; and it was ordained, that the anniversary of it should be solemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the prosperity of the Jews, made a league to destroy them; and resolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. (c) This prince was then in Persia, levying the tribute which had not been paid regularly. He was informed, that Elymais was thought to abound with riches;

(b) 1 Maccab. iv. 36---61. & v. 1, 2. 2 Maccab. x. 1---8. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. (c) 1 Maccab. vi. 1---16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1---29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

riches; and especially, that in a temple of that city, which Polybius says was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus, according to Appian, prodigious sums were laid up. He went thither, with a design to take the city, and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jerusalem. But his design having taken vent, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, thunder-struck at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news was there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judæa. In the violence of his rage, he set out with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march; and breathing only final ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, fresh expresses came to him with advice of Lyfias's defeat, and also that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in them, and re-established their ancient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately he commands his coachman to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might have an opportunity to satiate fully his vengeance; threatening to make Jerusalem the burying-place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that blasphemous expression, but he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the cholick. *Thus the murderer and blasphemer, says the author of the Maccabees, having suffered most grievously, as he treated other men, so died he a miserable death, in a strange country in the mountain.*

But still his pride was not abated by this first shock: So far from it, that suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey.

But as his horses were running forwards impetuously, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruized, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his flesh fell away piecemeal, and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it, (d) *It is meet, says he, to be subject unto God; and man who is mortal, should not think of himself as if he were a god.* Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jerusalem, he promises to exert his utmost liberality towards his chosen people; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jerusalem which he had plundered; to furnish, from his revenues, the sums necessary for defraying the expence of the sacrifices; to turn Jew himself; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped he should calm his wrath by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author in question, (e) *This wicked person vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him.* And indeed this murderer and blasphemer (these are the names which the writer of the Maccabees substituted in the place of *illustrious*, which men had bestowed on that prince) being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death*.

Before he expired, he sent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy; was his favourite, and had bestowed on him the regency of Syria during

(d) 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

* Polybius attests the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that spectres stood perpetually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This historian, who was

(e) Ibid. c. xiii.

unacquainted with the scriptures, assigns as the cause of this punishment, the sacrilegious attempt, formed by this prince against the temple of Diana in Elymais. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He had put into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. Few princes give such instructions to their children till they are near their end; and that, after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had sat eleven years on the throne.

SECT. IV. *Prophecies of DANIEL relating to ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.*

AS Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent persecutor of the people of God, who formed the Jewish church; and was, at the same time, the type of the Antichrist, who, in after-ages, was to afflict the Christian church; the prophecies of Daniel expatiate much more on this prince than on any other mentioned in them. This prophecy consists of two parts, one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the Jews. We shall treat these separately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

I. THE WARS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AGAINST EGYPT, FORETOLD BY DANIEL THE PROPHET.

(f) *And in his (Seleucus Philopator's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: But he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* This verse, which points out the accession of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

(g) *And with the arms of a flood shall they (the Syrians) be overflown before him (Antiochus Epiphanes)*

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and

and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant. Heliodorus, the murderer of Seleucus and his adherents, as also those of the Egyptian king, who had formed designs against Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and dispersed by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their projects. By the *prince of the covenant*, we may suppose to be meant, either Heliodorus, the ring-leader of the conspirators, who had killed Seleucus; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who lost his life by a conspiracy of his own subjects, when he was meditating a war against Syria. Thus Providence removed this powerful adversary, to make way for Antiochus, and raise him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet, in the following verses, points out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

ANTIOCHUS'S first EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(b) *And after the league made with him (with Ptolemy Philometor his nephew king of Egypt) he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.* Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war; *he yet shall assume a specious appearance of friendship for the king of Egypt.* He even sent Apollonius to Memphis, to be present at the banquet given on occasion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheless, soon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt with a *small army*, in comparison of those which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Pelusium. Antiochus *was strongest*, that is, victorious, and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his first expedition.

ANTIOCHUS'S second EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(i) *He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province (Egypt;) and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his father's fathers; he shall scatter*

scatter among them (his troops) the prey and spoil and riches; yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.

(k) *And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the South (of Egypt) with a great army, and the king of the South shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand; for they shall forecast devices against him.*

(l) *Yea, they that feed of the portion of his (the king of Egypt's) meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow; and many shall fall down slain.*

In these three verses appear the principal characters of Antiochus's second expedition into Egypt; his mighty armies, his rapid conquests, the rich spoils he carried from thence, and the dissimulation and treachery he began to practise with regard to Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by sea and land, the instant the season would permit. (m) *Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy.——And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt: But Ptolemy was afraid of him and fled; and many were wounded to death.——Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.*

Daniel, some verses after, is more minute in his prophecy of this event.

(n) *And at the time of the end shall the king of the South push at him (Ptolemy is here hinted at;) and the king of the North (Antiochus) shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.*

(o) *He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown: But he shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.*

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(k) Dan. xi. 25.

(l) Ver. 26.

(m) 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18, 19.

(n) Dan. xi. 40.

(o) Ver. 41.]

(p) *He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.*

(q) *But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over the precious things of Egypt, &c.*

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophecy, we find a perfect resemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the historian.

(r) Diodorus relates, that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at least the greatest part of it: For all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He subdued Egypt with an astonishing rapidity, and did that (s) *which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers.*

Ptolemy either surrendered himself, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at first treated him with kindness; had but one table with him, seemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable possession of his kingdom, reserving to himself Pelusium, which was the key of it. For Antiochus assumed this appearance of friendship with no other view but to have the better opportunity of ruining him. (t) *They that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him.*

Antiochus did not make a long stay in Egypt at that time; the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march against them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometor for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raised Evergetes his younger brother to the throne in his stead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had passed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of restoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom.

(p) Dan. xi. 42.
Valef. p. 310.

(q) Ver. 43.
(s) Dan. xi. 24.

(r) In Excerpt.
(t) Ver. 26.

ANTIOCHUS'S *third* EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(u) *And both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief; and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: For yet the end shall be at the time appointed.*

(x) *Then shall he (Antiochus) return into his land with great riches.*

Antiochus's third expedition could scarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raised Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the specious pretence of restoring Philometor: (y) *Per honestam speciem majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum.* After having overcome the Alexandrians, in a sea-fight at Pelusium, he laid siege to Alexandria. But finding the inhabitants made a strong opposition, he was contented with making himself master of Egypt again in the name of his nephew, in whose defence he pretended to have drawn the sword: (z) *Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat.* They were then at Memphis, eat at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have his nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose the highest confidence in his uncle; but all this was mere show and outside, both dissembling their real sentiments. The uncle endeavoured to crush his nephew: (a) *Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat, ut mox victorem aggrediretur;* and the nephew, who saw through his design, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus,* strove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus neither succeeded in deceiving of the other: Nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

ANTIOCHUS'S *fourth* EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(b) *At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the South, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.*

For

(u) Dan. xi. 27.

(x) Ver. 28.

(y) Liv. l. xlv. n. 19.

(z) Liv. l. xlv. n. 11. Hieron. in Daniel.

(a) Liv. ibid.

(b) Dan. xi. 29.

(c) *For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: Therefore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant.*

Advice being brought Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the mask, and declared publickly, that he intended to conquer Egypt for himself. And, to support his pretensions, *he returned towards the South*, that is, into Egypt, but was not so successful in this expedition as before. (d) As he was advancing forward to besiege Alexandria, Popilius, and the other Roman ambassadors, who were on board a fleet composed of Macedonian or Greek ships (for this the Hebrew word Chittim signifies) which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt. He obeyed, but *with the utmost reluctance, and made the city and temple of Jerusalem feel the dire effects of his indignation*, as will be presently seen.

Had the prophet been eye-witness to this event, would it have been possible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

II. CRUEL PERSECUTIONS EXERCISED BY ANTIOCHUS AGAINST THE JEWS, AND FORETOLD BY THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I have mentioned and explained, in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and those of his four successors.

(e) *Behold an he-goat came from the West, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground.*——

Could it have been possible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conquests? (f) *The he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.* These are Alexander's four successors. (g) *And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the South,*
and

(c) Dan. xi. 30.

(f) Ver. 8.

(d) Liv. l. xlv. n. 10.

(g) Ver. 9.

(e) Dan. viii. 5.

and toward the East, and toward the pleasant land. This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained several victories towards the South and the East, and who strongly opposed the army of the Lord and the Jewish people, of whom God was the strength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed against the people of God, the priests of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

(b) *And it waxed great (the horn) even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them.*—(i) *Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host (to God;) and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down.*—(k) *And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered.*

Daniel gives still greater extent to the same prophecy in his eleventh chapter.

(l) *His heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits.*—*He shall return, and have indignation against the holy covenant.*

(m) During the siege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accused of expressing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, stormed it, and exercised all the barbarity that his fury could suggest. About forty * thousand men were killed, and the same number sold as slaves, in the compass of three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the vessels, treasures, and rich ornaments.

(n) After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occasion against the Jews. He sent Apollonius into Judæa, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to sell the women and children. Accordingly,

(b) Dan. viii. 10. (i) Ver. 11. (k) Ver. 12. (l) Dan. xi. 28, 30. (m) 1 Maccab. i. 21---24. & ii. 5---21. Joleph. Lib. de Maccab. &c. (n) 1 Maccab. i. 30---34. & ii. 24---26.

* We are told in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.

ingly, Apollonius made dreadful havock in Jerusalem, set fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

(o) *He shall return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.—And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.—And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries, &c.*

(p) Antiochus declared openly for all those who should renounce the law. Having published an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion, he sent some officers to Jerusalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and abolish the worship of the Most High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his statue in it. They raised in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer sacrifices, and eat of meats sacrificed to idols. Many, from the dread of the torture, seemed to comply in all things required from them; and even prompted others to countenance their base apostacy.

(q) *And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall Antiochus corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God, shall be strong and do exploits.* This manifestly points at old Eleazar, the seven Maccabees and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the impious orders of the king.

(r) *And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many: Yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days.* This relates chiefly to Mattathias, and his sons.

(s) *Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: But many shall cleave to them with flatteries.*

Mat-

(o) Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32.

iv. 7, &c. vi. 1, &c.

(r) Ver. 34.

(p) 1 Maccab. i. 43, &c. 2 Maccab.

(q) Dan. xi. 32.

(r) Ver. 33.

Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, and the almost-universally abandoned religion, with so small a number of forces, that we can consider the success which the Almighty gave their arms no otherwise than as a miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very considerable body.

(t) *And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed.* The sufferings and death of those who steadfastly refused to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

(u) *And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished; For that that is determined, shall be done.*

(x) *Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: For he shall magnify himself above all.*

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exercised his impious fury chiefly against Jerusalem and the Jews, and almost without any resistance. The Almighty seemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath against his people was satisfied.

(y) *But tidings out of the East, and out of the North, shall trouble him: Therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.*

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the East, and Artaxias king of Armenia to the North, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke. Tacitus * tells us, that when

Antiochus

(t) Dan. xi. 35. (u) Ver. 36. (x) Ver. 37. (y) Ver. 44.

* Antiochus demere superstitionem & mores Græcorum dare ea tempestate Arsaces defecerat. Tacit. l. v. c. 8.
gentem in melius mutaret, Par-

Antiochus had formed a resolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. (2) Before he set out for the provinces on the other side of the Euphrates, he gave Lyfias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his absence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to settle other nations in their country.

(a) *He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace* [* in Apadno] *between the sons in the glorious holy mountain* [of Zabi;] *yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him.* This verse, which is translated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, because of the two words *Apadno* and *Zabi*, which are not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up these kind of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reason to suspect, imagined that this verse alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greatest part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be satisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares that Antiochus shall pitch his camp near mount *Zabi* (doubtless the same with *Taba* †, where, according to (b) Polybius, he died) and that there he *shall come to his end*, being abandoned by God, and having none to *help him*. We have seen how he expired, in the most cruel agonies, and struck with an unavailing repentance, which only increased his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and several interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel speaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in another sense, as alluding to Antichrist. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the most sensible,
as

(2) 1 Maccab. iii. 31---39.
Excerpt. Valel. p. 145.

(a) Dan. xi. 45.

(b) Polyb. in

* N. B. The words *between the crotchets* in this verse are not in our English translation of the Bible.

† *Taba*, according to Polybius, was in Persia; and in *Paretacena*, according to Quintius Curtius.

as well as most expressive, types of that enemy of Christ Jesus and our holy religion.

It is impossible for us, whilst we are reading this prophecy, not to be prodigiously struck to see the justness and accuracy with which the prophet traces the principal characteristics of a king, whose history is so much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that for this reason the holy spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a transient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells so long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretel a multitude of events, so very remote, and which depended on so many arbitrary circumstances! How manifestly did the spirit, which presented futurity to his view, shew it him as present, and in as clear a light, as if he had seen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the scriptures, and, by a necessary consequence, the certainty of the Christian religion, become, by such proofs, in a manner palpable and self-evident?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so indisputable a manner as this. Porphyry *, the professed enemy of the Christian religion, as well as of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed in finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relations given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon-day. However, he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to shew, in a very extensive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet; and he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events, could not possibly have been written by Da-

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niel

* Porphyry was a learned heathen, and wrote a very voluminous treatise against the Christian religion.

niel so many years before they happened ; and that this work must certainly have been wrote by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the Christians and Heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause, could they be able to demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now this they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews ; whose evidence could not be suspected or disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the Christian religion than the Heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which Providence had appointed them the depositaries and guardians, was so prodigious, that they would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch, who should have attempted only to transpose a single word, or change one letter in it ; what idea then would they have entertained of that man who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books in them ? Such are the witnesses who attested the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs so convincing, or cause so victorious ?
(c) *Thy testimonies are very sure—O LORD, for ever.*

(c) Psal. xciii. v.

 BOOK THE NINETEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

 Successors of ALEXANDER.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article contains eleven years, being the whole reign of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826, to 3837.

SECT. I. PERSEUS *prepares secretly for a war against the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achæans in vain. His secret measures not unknown at Rome. EUMENES arrives there, and informs the senate of them. PERSEUS attempts to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison. The Romans break with PERSEUS. Different opinions and dispositions of the kings and states in regard to the Macedonian war. After several embassies on both sides, the war is declared in form.*

THE death of Philip (a) happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already

A. M. 3826.
Ant. J. C. 178.

U 2

began

(a) Liv. l. xl. n. 57, 58. Orof. l. iv. c. 20.

began to put it in execution ; which was, to bring a considerable body of troops, both horse and foot, from European Sarmatia (part of Poland.) Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to follow commerce : They lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After having passed the Danube, Philip was to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate ; because, being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occasion for making irruptions into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it : If it should happen that the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat, in seeing himself delivered from the Dardanians by their means ; and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repulsing these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and several accidents that befell them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negotiating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death, and to assure himself the better of the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans to demand, that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

Part of the Bastarnæ (*b*) had pursued their rout, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprize. The senate, without making any farther enquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care that he observed inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube froze over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

A. M.
3829.
Ant. J. C.
175.

It was known at Rome (*c*), that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the * Dolopians, who refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced toward Delphos, upon pretence of consulting the oracle, but in reality, as it was believed, to make the tour of Greece, and negotiate alliances. This journey at first alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Theffaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent either ambassadors or circular letters to all the states through which he had passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

A. M.
3830.
Ant. J. C.
174.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself

U 3

with

(*b*) Freinshem in Liv.

(*c*) Liv. l. xli. n. 27---29.

* *Dolopia* was a region of *Theffaly*, upon the confines of *Epirus*.

with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as to prohibit all commerce with them by a decree. This declared enmity gave the slaves, who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and knew they should not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perseus caused all these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from making his dominions their refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient commerce. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and desired to make his court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was supported by those who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly, who was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented, that a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilst that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. He concluded, that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition, till time should explain whether their fears were just or not. That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough, when that appeared, to re-establish commerce with them; without which, a re-union would be precipitate and dangerous.

Arcon, Xenarchus's brother, who spoke after Callicrates, did his utmost to prove, that such terrors were without foundation; that the question was not the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to break with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree, for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far
from

from deserving. That that prince could not but be assured, that in case of a war against the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. "But," added he, "whilst the peace subsists, if animosities and dissensions are not made to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend them, and to let them sleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter; he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means, that they were refused audience.

The ambassadors (*d*), sent by the senate into Macedonia, reported, at their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; a double evasion equally false. That for the rest, it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestick divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried into vast disorders; and that their authority had not been capable of reclaiming and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected the war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war; that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased as much as possible the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the

A. M.
3831.
Ant. J. C.
173.

U 4

decree,

(*d*) Liv. 1. xlii. n. 2, 5, 6.

decree, which prohibited all commerce with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince incessantly solicited the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and rather more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities; and those of his own dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Apelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother; and of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himself amiable by his tenderness for his brothers and relations; by his justice in governing his subjects; and by his generous propensity to do good, and to serve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference; whether the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state, whose origin was wholly recent, and which they had seen take birth; or that the Greeks had some change in view; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

Perseus (*e*) was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and of separating them from the party of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne with Perseus, in marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and gave gold ribbands to every soldier and seaman who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by
Rome

(*e*) Polyb. Legat. ix, lxi.

Rome in favour of the Lycians against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter. Perseus endeavoured to take the advantage of their resentment against Rome, to attach them to himself.

The (f) Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to bring over the states of Greece into his views. Eumenes came expressly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared, that besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage expressly, to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprizes of Perseus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war, which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of succession. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed, supplied him with the means of raising numerous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself, in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the fight, and under the conduct of his father, and had since much exercised himself in different enterprizes against his neighbours. That he was highly considered by the cities of Greece and Asia; without seeming to have any sort of merit to support such credit, except his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings. That he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his sister in marriage to Prusias. That he had found means to engage the Bœotians in his interest, a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons well affected to the Romans, he had certainly renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates. That it was to Perseus the Ætolians applied for aid in their domestick troubles,

and

A. M.
3832.
Ant. J. C.
172.

and not to the Romans. That supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations of war himself, as put him into a condition to dispense with any foreign aid. That he had thirty thousand foot, five thousand horse, and provisions for ten years. That besides his immense annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay ten thousand foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his kingdom. That he had laid up in his arsenals a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, though Macedonia should be incapable of supplying him with troops, Thrace was at his devotion, which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts, founded upon the best information. "For the rest," said he, in concluding, "having discharged the duty which my regard and gratitude for the Roman people made indispensable, and delivered my conscience, it only remains for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, that they would inspire you with sentiments and measures consistent with the glory of your empire, and the preservation of your friends and allies, whose safety depends upon yours."

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except that king Eumenes had spoke, was known abroad, or suffered to take air at first; so inviolably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master, and what Harpalus, one of them, said in his speech, enflamed them still more against him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor said any thing that argued an enemy. That, as for the rest, if he discovered that they were obstinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should know how to defend himself with valour. That the

fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexts, especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus, and were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Lycia against the Rhodians, and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia, than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very agreeable to the Asiatick people, who secretly favoured Perseus, but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and have Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they saw formed against him. He was dismissed in consequence with the highest honours, and great presents.

Harpalus, (g) having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not sorry upon that account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to support it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprised of his most secret measures, and began with declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He dispatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occasions, to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphos, and directed his assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged, when he was in that city. They lay in ambush in a narrow defile, where two men could not pass a-breast. When the king
came

came there, the assassins rolled two great stones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him upon the earth without sense, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder; after which they poured an hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who staid to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers found him when they returned, without motion, and almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Egina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with so much secrecy, that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reason to believe him dead. That report spread even to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too soon for a good brother, and looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches upon that head, though he had at first resolved to dissemble his sense of his brother's imprudence.

Perseus had attempted at the same time to poison him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundisium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign lords, and even princes, who passed through that city. The king put into his hands a very subtle poison, for him to give Eumenes, when he should come to his house. Rammius did not dare to refuse this commission, whatever horror he had for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphos. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black at-

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tempts,

tempts, they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince, who made use of assassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprize.

Two ambassadors, who arrived at Rome about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son, whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he desired that the Roman people would take him into their care and tuition. The young prince was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shewn him, and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him at the expence of the publick. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As soon as Eumenes (*b*) was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour, excited by the new crime of his enemy. The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped, and dispatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors, seeing they could not have audience for many days, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused them to be recalled. They represented, that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then repeated all his contraventions to that treaty, and demanded that restitution should

(*b*) Liv. l. xlii. n. 25--27.

should be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with avarice and pride, and of treating kings with insupportable haughtiness, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their slaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, when he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him. That if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could do no otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon the throne. That if the Romans were for entering into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consult what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew immediately; and the ambassadors declared, that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they should take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the result of their embassy; and added, that they had observed, in all the cities of Macedonia through which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors that had been sent to the kings their allies, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence with Perseus; and deferred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty gallies, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus, were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities as well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes fixed upon the two great powers upon the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated with an ancient hatred against Perseus, and still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life, in his voyage to Delphos.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself, that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother, and hoped if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party Eumenes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined, that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Cœlosyria with him; and that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious desires. He had, however, declared to the senate by his ambassadors, that they might dispose of all his forces, and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable to resolve for himself. His guardians made preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœlosyria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to the aid of the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masinissa supplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to send his son Misagenes

to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone prevented him out of policy from extending his conquests, and at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected, in consequence, to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing however which party he should chuse; and it seemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thirace, king of the Odrysæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace were universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority amongst those people were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them, they lost all credit and reputation with their citizens; and of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman government; most of them having no views but to their private interest, convinced that their power in their cities would subsist in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those, who gave entirely into the king's measures; some, because their debts, and the bad estate of their affairs, made them desire a change; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own little pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely

lutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans to the king's; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied, that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other; and preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace: Because then, one of them, by taking the weaker states under its protection, whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had engaged in either party.

The Romans, after having, according to their laudable custom, discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprize they had been so long preparing for, declared war in form against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him, who said, that the king their master was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction in his power. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered, that the consul Licinius would be soon in Macedonia with his army, and that if the king desired peace in earnest, he might send his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more into Italy, where they would not be received; and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans (*i*) omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms. They dispatched ambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.

VOL. VI.

X

Whilst

(*i*) Liv. l. xlii. n. 37---44. Polyb. Legat. lxiii.

Whilst they were at Larissa in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoke of king Philip's friendship and hospitality, and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that occasion of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had besides a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties which arose about the ceremonial, and were soon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends bound in the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince, for whom he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of complaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaty with them. He insisted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing, that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and justify him before the senate.

Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished that any one should presume to impute to him without any proof, rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies,

enemies, entered into a long discourse, and replied, in the best manner possible, to the several heads of the accusation against him. "Of this I am * assured," said he in concluding, "that my conscience does not reproach me with having committed any fault knowingly, and with premeditated design, against the Romans; and if I have done any thing unwarily, apprized as I now am, it is in my power to amend it. I have certainly acted nothing to deserve the implacable enmity with which I am pursued, as guilty of the blackest and most enormous crimes, and neither to be expiated nor forgiven. It must be without foundation, that the clemency and wisdom of the Roman people is universally extolled, if for such slight causes, as scarce merit complaint and remonstrance, they take up arms, and make war upon kings in alliance with them."

The result of this conference was, that Perseus should send new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try all possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a snare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, and to gain time. He feigned at first great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perseus, for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and seemed at last to give into it only out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas, on the side of Perseus, every thing was ready; and if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the advantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview, the Roman ambassadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great com-

X 2

motions;

* *Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse; & si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrige me & emendari castigatione hac posse.* Nihil certe insanabile, nec quod bello & armis persequendum esse censeatis, commisi; aut frustra

clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix querela, & expostulatione dignæ sunt, arma capitis, & regibus sociis bella infertis. *Liv.*

motions; some declaring for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the consent of the whole body of the nation, according to ancient custom. In this manner the Bœotians, from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus, after having formed through a long course of time a republick, which on several occasions had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many councils as there were cities in the province; all of which in the sequel remained independent of each other, and formed no longer one united league as at first. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them to make them weak; well knowing, that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them by that means, than if their union subsisted. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæa and Haliartus, persisted in the alliance with Perseus.

From Bœotia the commissioners went into Peloponnesus. The assembly of the Achæan league was summoned to Argos. They demanded only a thousand men to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army should enter Greece; which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the same time Rome sent (*k*) new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesilochus, who was at that time Prytanis, (the principal magistrate was so called) had prepared the people, by representing to them, that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impressions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inspire the Romans, in regard to their fidelity.

(*k*) Liv. l. xlii. n. 45---48. Polyb. Legat. lxiv.---lxviii.

fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambassadors, they shewed them a fleet of forty ships entirely equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprize was highly pleasing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly satisfied with so distinguished a zeal, which had prevented their demands.

Perseus, in consequence of his interview with Marcius, sent ambassadors to Rome, to treat there upon what had been proposed in that conference. He dispatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced at large the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as spectators, only till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take.—“ If, contrary to the treaties subsisting between us, they attack me, you will be (said he) the mediators between the two nations. All the world is interested in their continuing to live in peace, and it behoves none more than you to endeavour their reconciliation. Defenders, not only of your own, but the liberty of all Greece; the more zeal and ardour you have for so great a good, the more ought you to be upon your guard against whomsoever should attempt to inspire you with different sentiments. You cannot but know, that the certain means * to reduce Greece into slavery, is to make it dependent upon one people only, without leaving it any other to have recourse to.” The ambassadors were received with great respect; but were answered, That in case of war, the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them in prejudice to the alliance they had made with the Romans. The same ambassadors went also into Bœotia, where they had almost as little reason to be satisfied; only a few

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small

* Cum cæterorum id interesse, atque opibus excellent, quæ servatum præcipue Rhodiorum, quo atque obnoxia fore, si nullus alio sit plus inter alias civitates dignitate quam ad Romanos respectus. Liv.

small (*I*) cities separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcus and Atilius, at their return to Rome, reported to the senate the success of their commission. They dwelt particularly upon the address of their stratagem to deceive Perseus by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their success in dissolving the general assembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The greatest part of the senate expressed great satisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued profound policy, and uncommon dexterity in negotiation. But the old senators, who had imbibed other principles, and persevered in their ancient maxims, said, They did not see the Roman character sustained in such dealing. That their ancestors, relying more upon true valour than fraud, used to make war openly, and not in disguise and under cover; that such unworthy artifices became the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was more glorious to deceive an enemy, than conquer him with open force. That, indeed, stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valour; but that a victory obtained vigorously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was tried as near as possible, and which the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong conviction of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the ancient senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate which preferred the useful to the honourable, were much the majority upon this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcus was sent again
with

with some gallies into Greece, to regulate affairs as he should think most consistent with the service of the publick; and Atilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa, lest, upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Though the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things which had been said in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the senate ordered them, and all the Macedonians at Rome, to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon as possible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with five-and-forty gallies from Cephalaria, and arrived in five days at Naples, where he was to wait for the land-forces.

SECT. II. *The consul LICINIUS and king PERSEUS take the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at some distance from each other. Fight of the horse, in which PERSEUS has considerably the advantage, and makes an ill use of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both sides go into winter-quarters.*

THE consul Licinius, after having offered his vows to the gods in the Capitol, set out from Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the consuls, says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity, and an incredible concourse of people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest every particular might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curiosity to see the general, to

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whose prudence and valour the fate of the republick was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage of their generals. "What mortal," said they, "can know the fate of a consul at his departure; whether we shall see him with his victorious army return in triumph to the Capitol, from whence he sets out, after having offered up his prayers to the gods, or whether the enemy may not rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip, who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and every body knew, that from his succession to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citizens conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Mutius, who had both been consuls, did not think it below them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes (or as colonels or brigadiers) and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundisium, which was the rendezvous of the army, and passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the return of his ambassadors from Rome, and their assuring him, that there remained no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to suffer every thing supportable for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction. That, if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures,

tures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had lost, but to render him formidable to those, who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They insisted, that by making cession of a part, he must determine to lose all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor lands that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal empire. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories; contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Masinissa. That they had driven Antiochus and his son beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia to give umbrage to, or make head against the Romans. That prudence requires Perseus, whilst he was still master of it, seriously to consider with himself, whether by making the Romans sometimes one concession, and sometimes another, he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask, as a favour of the Romans, permission to retire, and confine himself in Samothracia, or some other island, there to pass the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of surviving his glory and empire; or whether he would chuse to hazard in arms all the dangers of the war in defence of his fortunes and dignity, as became a man of courage; and in case of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp his crown, to resign it meanly to strangers, that endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That, in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious, than to give up empire without resistance, nor more laudable,

ble, than to have used all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. *Since you think it so necessary*, said the king, *let us make war then with the help of the gods.* He gave orders at the same time to his generals, to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went soon after himself, with all the lords of his court, and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of an hecatomb, or an hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty-nine thousand foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, and four thousand horse. It was agreed, that since the army Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one so numerous.

It was twenty-six years since Philip had made peace with the Romans, and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars Macedonia had supported against the Thracians their neighbours. Philip besides, and Perseus after him, had long before formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was, that at the time we speak of, every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne therefore, and from thence, having his two sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great force. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them; but that design a sudden death had prevented him from putting in execution. He added, that presently after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to him, and at the same time marched troops into Greece, to take possession of the strongest places.

places. That afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him during all the winter with deceitful interviews, and a pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negotiating a reconciliation. He compared the consul's army, which was actually on its march, with that of the Macedonians; which, in his sense, was much superior to the other, not only in the number and valour of their troops, but in ammunition and provisions of war, laid up with infinite care during a great number of years. "It remains therefore, Macedonians," said he, in concluding, "only to act with the same courage your ancestors shewed, when, having triumphed over all Europe, they crossed into Asia, and set no other bounds to their conquests, than those of the universe. You are not now to carry your arms to the extremities of the East, but to defend yourselves in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia. When the Romans attacked my father, they covered that unjust war with the false pretence of re-establishing the ancient liberty of Greece; the present they undertake without any disguise, to reduce and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people cannot bear that the Roman empire should have any king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation should have arms for their defence. For you may be assured, if you refuse to make war, and will submit to the orders of those insulting masters, that you must resolve to deliver up your arms with your king and his kingdom to them."

At these words the whole army, which had expressed no immoderate applause for the rest of his discourse, raised cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding earnestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the occasions of the army, each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; giving

giving for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages for the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other machines of war.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days march, arrived at Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of mount Oeta; the consul's was at Gomphi in Theffaly, after having surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almost impracticable. The Romans themselves confessed, that had the enemy defended those passes, they might easily have destroyed their whole army in them. The consul advanced within three miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the same time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with his brother Attalus and Athenæus: Phileterus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. They had left Athenæus with two thousand foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. The allies sent also other troops, though in numbers sufficiently inconsiderable, and some gallies. Perseus, in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the country in the neighbourhood of Pheræ, in hopes, that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprize and attack him to advantage; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made amongst his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræans without opposition, thought it adviseable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans judged rightly, that their slowness and
delays

delays would discredit them very much with their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilst they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus being present) a courier came in upon the spur, and informed them the enemy were very near with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and an hundred horse detached, with as many of the light-armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a small half league, made his foot halt, and advanced with his horse and light-armed soldiers. He had scarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the same hour, Perseus advanced with all his troops to the same place. They were followed by chariots laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place, the way was very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their entrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the same several days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard; and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was began, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were very much superior to those of the Romans, they assured themselves it would be no difficulty to defeat them.

The

The first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about a thousand paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed foot, towards the camp of the Romans. The dust, which flew nearer than usual, and was raised by a greater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the first who brought the news, could scarce find belief that the enemy was so near; because for several days before they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the sun at that time was just rising. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who ran in crouds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utmost haste to the general's tent, as the soldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than five hundred paces from the consul's entrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left with the horse of his nation; the light-armed troops were distributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing the king's horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted. The king kept the center with the horse that always attended his person; before whom were placed the slingers and archers, to about four hundred in number.

The consul having drawn up his foot in battle-array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his intrenchments. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian horse, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother; the left, composed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M.

Valerius

Valerius Levinus ; both intermingled with the light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the center, with a select body of horse ; two hundred Gallick horse, and three hundred of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Thessalian horse were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a reserved body. King Eumenes and his brother Attalus, with their troops, were posted in the space between the intrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which was almost equal on both sides, and might amount to about four thousand on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the slings and missive weapons, which were posted in front ; but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beasts long shut up, and thereby the more furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, sometimes cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perseus, who attacked the center of the enemy, soon put the Greeks into disorder ; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed a body of reserve, and in the beginning of the action had been only spectators of the battle, was of great service, when that wing gave way. For those horse, retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were dispersed ; and when they saw the enemy was not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias and Leonatus having learnt the advantage of the cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their entrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared indeed, that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete ; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated. Whilst he was deliberating with himself, between hope and fear, upon what he should resolve, Evander * of Crete, in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly begged of him not to abandon himself to his present success, nor engage rashly in a new action, that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace ; or, if he should chuse to continue the war, his first success would infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion ; wherefore, having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans lost two thousand of their light-armed infantry, at least, in this battle, and had two hundred of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners. On the other side, only twenty of their cavalry, and forty foot-soldiers, were left upon the place. The victors returned into their camp with great joy ; especially the Thracians, who with songs of triumph carried the heads of those they had killed upon the end of their pikes : It was to them Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow kept a mournful silence, and

* *Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.*

and filled with terror, expected every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panick. The consul was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was highly dishonourable to himself and his army; but, however, being convinced by reason, he yielded to necessity, passed with his troops by favour of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle, but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them intrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confessed it a still greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For, without putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy, during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might without difficulty have cut off at least part of their army.

We see here, in a sensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest empires, owe their being. There is no reader but must have been surprized at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occasion of defeating his enemy: It requires no great capacity or penetration to distinguish so gross a fault. But how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken? A notion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd. But God, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the destruction of the kingdom of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast, and removes every thought, which might, and naturally ought to

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have induced him to take quite different measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. God seems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this; but the holy scripture teaches us to think otherwise, and what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers, we may well apply to this event: *And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: For they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord was fallen upon them,* Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was said, that they were the first who took the alarm and fled; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The Thessalians, on the contrary, were praised for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with several marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not inconsiderable. They amounted to fifteen hundred bucklers, a thousand cuirasses, and a much greater number of helmets, swords, and darts, of all kinds. The king made great presents of them to the officers who had distinguished themselves most; and having assembled the army, he began by telling them, That what had happened was an happy presage for them, and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action, and in magnificent terms expatiated upon the victory over the Roman horse, in which the principal force of their army consisted, and which

which they had before believed invincible ; and promised himself from thence a more considerable success over their infantry, who had only escaped their swords by a shameful flight during the night ; but that it would be easy to force the intrenchments in which their fear kept them shut up. The victorious soldiers, who carried the spoils of the enemies they had slain upon their shoulders, heard this discourse with sensible pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the past. The foot, on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, prompted by a laudable jealousy, pretended at least to equal, if not to excell, the glory of their companions upon the first occasion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour and passion, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having dismissed the assembly, set forward the next day, passed the river, and encamped at Mopsium, an eminence situate between Tempe and Larissa.

The joy for the good success of so important a battle affected Perseus at first in all its extent. He looked upon himself as superior to a people, who alone were so in regard to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by surprize, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own sight, and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him three times in one day ; at first in keeping close, out of fear, in their camp ; then, when they ventured out of it, in shamefully betaking themselves to flight ; and, lastly, by flying again, during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no other security, but by being enclosed within their intrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his first transports were a little abated, and the inebriating fume of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, Perseus came to himself, and reflecting in

cool blood upon all the consequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about him, (*l*) taking advantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to give him the counsel of which it made him capable; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity. That therefore he would do well to send to the consul, and propose a renovation of the treaty, upon the same conditions imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle; nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture, when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would at least have the consolation of having the gods and men for witnesses of his own moderation, and the haughty tenaciousness of the Romans.

The king gave in to these wise remonstrances, to which he ever was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him, They came to demand peace; that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman constancy shewed itself upon this occasion in an extraordinary

dinary manner. It was the custom * at that time to express in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was, That no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were strangely surprized at so extraordinary, and, in their sense, so ill-timed a pride; most of them believed it needless to talk any farther of peace, and that the Romans would be soon reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty, but from a consciousness of superiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To believe himself happy, and after a signal victory to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures, and concerted the means to success very ill, since after a first action entirely to his advantage, he begins to discover all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory shewed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

Y 3

The

* Ita tum mos erat in adversis moderari animos in secundis. vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, *Liv.*

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people thought, and discovered in full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partizans of Macedonia, but even by most of those the Romans had obliged, of whom, some suffered with pain their haughty manners, and insolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the same time besieged the city of Haliartus in Bœotia (*m*). After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harrassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thousand carriages, laden principally with sheafs of corn, which the Romans had been to reap, and made six hundred prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master with little or no difficulty; but he found more resistance than he had imagined. That small body was commanded by a brave officer, called L. Pompeius, who retiring to an eminence, defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops, rather than surrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the consul arrived to his assistance with a great detachment of horse and light-armed foot: The legions were ordered to follow him. The sight of the consul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were eight hundred men, all Romans. Perseus immediately sent for his phalanx; but the consul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance for some time, were at last broke and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the place, with twenty-four

of

of the best horse, of the troop called the *Sacred Squadron*, of which the commander himself, Antimachus, was killed.

The success of this action re-animated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garrison into Gonna, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul having reduced Perrhæbia, and taken Larissa and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Achæans; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he left them in winter-quarters; and went into Bœotia, at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incursions.

SECT. III. *The senate pass a wise decree to put a stop to the avarice of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies. The consul MARCIUS, after sustaining great fatigues, enters Macedonia. PERSEUS takes the alarm, and leaves the passes open: He resumes courage afterwards. Insolent embassy of the Rhodians to Rome.*

NOTHING memorable passed the following year (*n*). The consul Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with four thousand foot, to defend such of the inhabitants of that country as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add eight thousand men, raised amongst the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a great garrison. Claudius, upon the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it, with almost all his troops, without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sally upon him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way with dreadful slaughter. Of eleven thousand men, scarce two thousand escaped into the camp, which a thousand

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had

had been left to guard : Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate, and the more, because it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

This was (ϕ) the almost universal disease of the commanders at that time. The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard-of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed, that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.

C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially amongst the *Ætolians*, occasioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of *Achaia* was not exempt from these divisions ; but the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority prevented their consequences. The advice of *Archon*, one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the republick, and to avoid the misfortunes into which those were fallen, who had not sufficiently

com-

comprehended the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed, and it was resolved, that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Polybius captain-general of the horse.

About this time Attalus having something to demand of the Achæan league, caused the new magistrature to be founded; who, determinate in favour of the Romans and their allies, promised that prince to support his suit with all his power. The affair in question was, to have a decree reversed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Eumenes should be removed from the publick places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that in consideration for the prince who sent them, Eumenes his brother should be restored to the honours the republick had formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and services of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded, that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

It was at this time Rome (p) sent Popilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprizes against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

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The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking the advantage of the winter to make an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions during the king's being employed against the Romans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans, it is not known how, and

(p) Liv. l. xliiii. n. 11, & 18—23. Polyb. Legat lxxvi, lxxvii.

and took it, after a defence of some duration. He afterwards made himself master of all the strong places in the country, the most part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus, at the same time, sent ambassadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he observed, that having neither munitions of war nor money, he was in no condition to declare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand; and sent a second embassy to him, without mention of money; and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expences, which denotes a little mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprizes miscarry, and that if he would have sacrificed certain sums, and those far from considerable, he might have engaged several republicks and princes in his party. Can such a blindness be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia, above the gulph of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes, that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

Early in the spring the consul Marcius left Rome, and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured, that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report (*q*) that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspi-

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ons and bad reports that had been propagated against it, advised the Achæans to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Theffaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republick, and to know from him where and when the Achæan army should join him. Polybius, our historian, with some others, was charged with this embassy. They found the Romans had quitted Theffaly, and were encamped in Perrhæbia, between Azora and Dolichæa, greatly perplexed about the rout it was necessary to take. They followed them for a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perseus (*r*), who did not know what rout the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and counter-marching without much design.

Marcus, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the forest that covered part of the country called Oetolopha. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep and impracticable, and had seized an eminence, by way of precaution, which favoured his passage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces, and all the country about Dium and Phila might be discovered; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themselves. Hippas, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body of twelve thousand men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who advanced with his whole army, harrassed his troops

troops for two days, and distressed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame, or even danger. He had no other choice to make, but to pursue an undertaking with vigour, formed, perhaps, with too much boldness and temerity, and which could not succeed without a determinate perseverance, often crowned in the end with success. It is certain, that if the consul had had to do with the ancient kings of Macedonia in the narrow defile, where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his horse into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans opportunity to extricate themselves from the bad affair in which they had embarked.

It was not without infinite pains they effected this; the horses laden with the baggage sinking under their loads, on the declivity of the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants especially gave them great trouble: It was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared the snow on these descents, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the way, at the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon those beams they laid planks of thirty feet length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, leaving some interval, they erected a second, then a third, and so on to as many of the same kind as were necessary. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge, and before he came to the end, they had contrived to lower the beams insensibly that supported it, and let him gently down with the bridge: He went on in that manner to the second, and all the

rest. It is not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass, the soldiers being often obliged to roll upon the ground, because it was impossible for them to keep their legs. It was agreed, that with an handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself out of danger.

As the consul (s) seemed then to have entirely overcome the greatest difficulty of his enterprize, Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting Marcius with the decree of the Achæans, and to assure him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war: Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their good-will in the kindest terms, told them, they might spare themselves the trouble and expence that war would give them; that he would dispense with both; and that, in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid of the allies. After this discourse, Polybius's colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius only continued in the Roman army till the consul, having received advice that Appius, surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of five thousand men to be sent him into Epirus, dispatched him home, with advice, not to suffer his republick to furnish those troops, or engage in expences entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to discover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Was he for sparing the Achæans, or laying a snare for them; or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing?

While the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what choice to make, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence

defence of the passes; sent * the gilt statues at Dium on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treasures, laid up at Pella, should be thrown into the sea, and all his gallies at Thessalonica burnt. For himself, he returned to Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. There was no passing for him, but by two forests; by the one he might penetrate through the vallies of Tempe into Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter further into Macedonia; and both these important posts were possessed by strong garrisons for the king. So that if Perseus had only staid ten days without taking fright, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, and the consul would have had no pass for provisions to him. For the ways through Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices, that the eye could scarce sustain the view of them without dazzling. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans therefore, not being able either to receive provisions by the narrow passes of Tempe, nor to get through them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains, from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left, was to open their way through their enemies to Dium in Macedonia; which † would have been no less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel. For in making a fossé with entrenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have absolutely shut them out, and stopt them short. But in the blindness, into which his fear had thrown the king, he

* These were the statues of the horse-soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lyfippus, and to be set up in Dium. † Quod nisi dii mentem regi ademissent, ipsum in gentis dis-cultatis erat. Liv.

he neither saw, nor did, any thing of all the means in his power to save himself, left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The consul perceived aright, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, to secure a retreat in case of accident; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly surprized, that the king had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of several places, almost without any resistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him he might find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage, what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself therefore of that city, and soon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

Perseus, having recovered his fright, and resumed spirit, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treasures at Pella into the sea, and burn all his ships at Theſſalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might soon follow that command, as indeed it happened. Nicias, less aware, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was soon repaired by divers, who brought up almost
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the whole money from the bottom of the sea. To reward their services, the king caused them all to be put to death secretly, as he did Andronicus and Nicias; so much was he ashamed of the abject terror to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, which were neither of much consequence or importance.

When Polybius (t) returned from his embassy into Peloponnesus, Appius's letter, in which he demanded five thousand men, had been received there. Some time after, the council assembled at Sicyon, to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he received from Marcius, had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have occasion for, of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman senate, that prohibited their having any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was sent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his demand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means Polybius saved the Achæans the sum of an hundred and twenty thousand crowns at least.

In the mean time (u) arrived ambassadors at Rome, from Prusias, king of Bithynia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should continue to do so during the war; but that, having promised Perseus to employ his good offices for him with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make such use of his mediation as they should

(t) Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

(u) Liv. l. xliv. n. 14---16.

should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having set forth, in a lofty style, the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added: That whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negotiated a treaty of alliance with Perseus; that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint on the king's part, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side; that for three years, which this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniencies from it; that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues, and other advantages arising from commerce; that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia to king Perseus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they were also sent to Rome to make the same declaration; that if either of the parties refused to come into so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historians tell us, all the answer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the senate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they pretended to an authority over both those people. Others say, the senate answered in few words: That the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome. That when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits.

merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The consul Q. Marcius's letter was then read, in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wise precaution of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome: That it was also necessary to send him clothes for the soldiers; that he wanted two hundred horses, especially from Numidia, because there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to observe the peace; and putting him in mind that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do as much, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun by withdrawing himself from his councils, under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, seeing himself become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he had taken refuge amongst the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

SECT. IV. PAULUS ÆMILIUS *chosen consul.* He sets out for Macedonia with the prætor CN. OCTAVIUS, who commanded the fleet. PERSEUS solicits aid on all sides. His avarice loses him considerable allies. The prætor ANICIUS's victories in Illyria. PAULUS ÆMILIUS's celebrated victory over PERSEUS, near the city of Pydna. PERSEUS taken with all his children. The command of PAULUS ÆMILIUS in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the senate, granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians. PAULUS ÆMILIUS, during the winter-quarters, visits the most celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis, he gives a great feast. He marches for Rome. On his way he suffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of PERSEUS. CN. OCTAVIUS and L. ANICIUS have also the honour of a triumph decreed them.

THE time for the comitia (a), or assemblies, to elect consuls at Rome, approaching, all the world were anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls, who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained against his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace; against Antiochus, who was driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and what was still more considerable, against Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy, after a war of more than sixteen years continuance, and conquered in his own country, almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations of Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly distinguished, that it was no

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(a) Liv. l. xlv. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 259, 260.

time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was necessary to chuse a general for his wisdom, valour, and experience; in a word, one capable of presiding in so important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the publick; and nothing is more affecting than such a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the state's pressing occasion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty years old; but age, without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity of wisdom and judgment; more necessary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been consul thirteen years before, and had acquired the general esteem during his administration. But the people repaid his services with ingratitude, having refused to raise him again to the same dignity, though he had solicited it with sufficient ardour. For several years he had led a private and retired life, solely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever succeeded better, nor was more gloriously rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, made instances to him to comply with the people's wishes, in taking upon him the consulship: But believing himself no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in publick, kept himself at home, and shunned honours with as much solicitude as others generally pursue them. However, when he saw the people assemble every morning in crowds before his door; that they summoned him to the forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his country, he gave in at last to their remonstrances, and appearing amongst those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the assurance of an approaching and complete victory. The consulship was conferred upon him unanimously, and, according to Plutarch,

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the command of the army in Macedonia decreed to him in preference to his colleague, though Livy says it fell to him by lot.

It is said, that the day he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, who on seeing him fell a crying bitterly. He embraced; and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia hugging him with her little arms, *You do not know then*, said she, *that our Perseus is dead, pappā*. She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called *Perseus*. *And at a very good time, my dear child*, said Paulus Æmilius, struck with the word, *I accept this omen with joy*. The ancients carried their superstition upon this kind of fortuitous circumstances very high.

The manner (*b*) in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge of the success to be expected from it. He demanded, first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact enquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were actually encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty; which of them were dubious and wavering; and who they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to be fully apprized in all these circumstances; convinced that the plan of the campaign, upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted,

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with.

(*b*) Liv. l. xliv. n. 18---22, Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260.

without a perfect knowledge of them. The senate approved these wise measures very much, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, who set out two days after.

During their absence, audience was given the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprizes of Antiochus, king of Syria; which have been before related.

The commissioners had made good use of their time. Upon their return they reported, that Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: That the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual possession of it: That the two camps were very near each other, being separated only by the river Enipæus; That the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige him to fight, nor to force his lines: That, to the other inconveniencies, a very severe winter had happened, from which they could not but suffer exceedingly in a mountainous country, and be entirely prevented from acting; and, that they had only provisions for six days: That the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to thirty thousand men: That if Appius Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect against king Gentius; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement were immediately sent him, or he ordered directly to quit the post he was in. That after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet: That they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases; that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was entirely in want of seamen and soldiers: That those who remained, had not received their pay, and had no clothes: That Eumenes and his fleet, after having just shewn themselves, disappeared immediately, without any visible cause; and

that it seemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on : But, that as for his brother Attalus, his good-will was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the senate decreed, that he should set forward without loss of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post near Lychnidus in Illyria. The number of troops each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consisted, amounted to twenty-five thousand eight hundred men ; that is, of two Roman legions, each composed of six thousand foot and three hundred horse ; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies, and twice the number of horse. He had, besides, six hundred horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to thirty thousand men. The prætor Anicius had also two legions ; but they consisted of only five thousand foot, and three hundred horse each ; which, with ten thousand of the Italian allies, and eight hundred horse, composed the army under him of twenty-one thousand two hundred men. The troops that served on board the fleet, were five thousand men. These three bodies together, made fifty-six thousand two hundred men.

As the war which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia, seemed of the last consequence, all precautions were taken that might conduce to the success of it. The consul and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and commanded each in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed, that none should be elected into this employment, but such as had already served, and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to chuse out of all the tribunes such as he approved for his army : He had twelve for the two legions.

It must be allowed the Romans acted with great wisdom upon this occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously chosen consul and general, the person amongst them who was indisputably the greatest captain of his time. They had resolved that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were distinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity instanced in real service; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or seniority; to which, indeed, the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more; by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to chuse such of the tribunes as he thought fit, well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to the exact and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the soul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the best understanding between them, founded in a passion for the publick good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition, are capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner. “ You seem to me, Romans, to have expressed more
 “ joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, than when I
 “ was elected consul, or entered upon that office;
 “ and to me your joy seemed to be occasioned by the
 “ hopes you conceived, that I should put an end,
 “ worthy of the grandeur and reputation of the Ro-
 “ man people, to a war, which, in your opinion, has
 “ already been of too long continuance. I have rea-
 “ son to believe, that the same gods *, who have oc-
 “ casioned Macedonia to fall to my lot, will also assist
 “ me with their protection in conducting and termi-
 “ nating this war successfully: But of this I may ven-
 “ ture to assure you, that I shall do my utmost not to
 “ fall

* It was a received opinion in all ages and nations, that the divinity presides over chance.

“ fall short of your expectations. The senate has wisely
“ regulated every thing necessary in the expedition I
“ am charged with; and, as I am ordered to set out
“ immediately, I shall make no delay, and know that
“ my colleague C. Licinius, out of his great zeal for
“ the publick service, will raise and march off the
“ troops appointed for me, with as much ardour and
“ expedition, as if they were for himself. I shall take
“ care to remit to you, as well as to the senate, an
“ exact account of all that passes; and you may rely
“ upon the certainty and truth of my letters; but I
“ beg of you, as a great favour, that you will not
“ give credit to, or lay any weight out of credulity
“ upon the light reports, which are frequently spread
“ abroad without any author. I perceive well, that
“ in this war, more than any other, whatever resolu-
“ tion people may form to obviate these rumours,
“ they will not fail to make impression, and inspire I
“ know not what discouragement. There are those,
“ who in company, and even at table, command ar-
“ mies, make dispositions, and prescribe all the ope-
“ rations of the campaign. They know better than
“ we where we should encamp, and what posts it is
“ necessary for us to seize; at what time, and by what
“ defile we ought to enter Macedonia; where it is
“ proper to have magazines; from whence, either by
“ sea or land, we are to bring provisions; when we
“ are to fight the enemy, and when lie still. They
“ not only prescribe what is best to do, but for devi-
“ ating ever so little from their plans, they make it a
“ crime in their consul, and cite him before their tri-
“ bunal. But know, Romans, this is of very bad
“ effect with your generals. All have not the resolu-
“ tion and constancy of Fabius, to despise imperti-
“ nent reports. He could chuse rather to suffer the
“ people upon such unhappy rumours to invade his
“ authority, than to ruin affairs in order to preserve
“ their opinion, and an empty name. I am far from
“ believing, that generals stand in no need of advice:
“ I think, on the contrary, that whoever would con-
“ duct

“ duct every thing alone, upon his own opinion, and
 “ without counsel, shews more presumption than pru-
 “ dence. But some may ask, How then shall we act
 “ reasonably? In not suffering any persons to obtrude
 “ their advice upon your generals, but such as are,
 “ in the first place, versed in the art of war, and have
 “ learnt from experience what it is to command; and,
 “ in the second, who are upon the spot, who know
 “ the enemy, are witnesses in person to all that passes,
 “ and sharers with us in all dangers. If there be any
 “ one who conceives himself capable of assisting me
 “ with his counsels in the war you have charged me
 “ with, let him not refuse to do the republick that
 “ service, but let him go with me into Macedonia;
 “ ships, horses, tents, provisions, shall all be supplied
 “ him at my charge. But if he will not take so much
 “ trouble, and prefers the tranquillity of the city to
 “ the dangers and fatigues of the field, let him not
 “ take upon him to hold the helm, and continue idle
 “ in the port. The city of itself supplies sufficient
 “ matter of discourse on other subjects; but as for
 “ these, let it be silent upon them, and know, that
 “ we shall pay no regard to any counsels, but such as
 “ shall be given us in the camp itself.”

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds
 with reason and good sense, shews that men are the
 same in all ages of the world. People have an incre-
 dible itch for examining, criticising, and condemning
 the conduct of generals, and do not observe, that doing
 so is a manifest contradiction to reason and justice: To
 reason; for what can be more absurd and ridiculous,
 than to see persons, without any knowledge or experi-
 ence in war, set themselves up for censors of the most
 able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air
 upon their actions? To justice; for the most experi-
 enced can make no certain judgment without being
 upon the spot: The least circumstance of time, place,
 disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged,
 being capable of making an absolute change in the
 general rules of conduct. But we must not expect to see

see a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city-reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

Paulus Æmilius (c), after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

Whilst they were employed in making preparations for the war at Rome, Perseus, on his side, had not been asleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents in money (that is, three hundred thousand crowns) and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced, that if that island, very powerful at that time by sea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and in endeavouring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundations of his enterprize. He did not think of putting those remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity, and his affairs next to absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and associates of his ruin, than aids and supports. The instructions which he gave his ambassadors, were very solid and persuasive, as we are about to see; but he should have made use of them three years sooner, and have waited their event, before he embarked, almost alone, in the war against so powerful a people, with so many resources in case of misfortune.

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(c) Liv. l. xliv. n. 23---29. Polyb. *Légat*, lxxxv---lxxxvii. Plut. in *Paul. Æmil.* p. 260, 261.

The ambassadors had the same instructions for both those kings. They represented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republicks and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themselves to ruin them one after another. That they had crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and, in some measure, by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against himself. That after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate; of which they had already usurped a part, under the specious colour of re-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would soon follow. That they had already began to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them, either to incline the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or, if they persevered in the unjust design of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of it. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had began to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not because Eumenes desired at bottom, that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealousy; neither was he more willing to declare openly against, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes to see the two parties equally inclined to peace; Perseus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befall him;

him ; the Romans, from being weary of a war spun out to too great a length ; he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was fifteen hundred talents (fifteen hundred thousand crowns.) The only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till the service took effect, and in the mean time offered to deposite the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus, and therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed likewise in another negotiation, which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of ten thousand horse and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horseman, five to the infantry, and a thousand to their captains. I have observed above, that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that in towns and villages, through which they were to pass, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them ; he had presents for their principal officers, of horses, arms, and habits ; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a small number ; he imagined to gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms ; and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and
bravadoes.

bravadoes. He set off, in the best terms, the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them; after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be paid with words. Clondicus, the general and king of these strangers, came directly to the point; and asked, whether he had brought the sum agreed on. As no answer was given to that question; Go, said he, *and let your prince know, that till he sends the hostages and sums agreed on, the Gauls will not stir from hence.* The king, upon the return of his deputy, assembled his council. He foresaw what they would advise; but as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he enlarged a great deal upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thousand horse would suffice for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than five thousand horse. Upon which they raised an universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far to insult them so grossly. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the five thousand horse; as the deputy sought evasions, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, as he violently apprehended. However, they had a regard to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment to his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their rout to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they

might

might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipeus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have brought no provisions as before from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice, by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents he had demanded above a year, for raising troops, and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negotiated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents (ten thousand crowns) in part of the sum promised him. Gentius dispatched his ambassadors, and with them persons he could confide in, to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, to join Perseus's ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to bring that republick into an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the exchange of hostages, and the taking of oaths on both sides, it only remained to deliver the three hundred talents. The ambassadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into chests, under the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perseus had given orders underhand to the persons charged with this convoy, to march slowly, and by small journies, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia, to stop for his farther orders. During all this time, Pantauchus,

who

who had remained at the court of Illyria, made pressing instances to the king to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. In the mean while arrived ambassadors from the Romans, to negotiate an alliance with Gentius. He had already received ten talents by way of earnest, and advice that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the repeated solicitations of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned, under pretence that they were spies. As soon as Perseus had received this news, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably engaged against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the three hundred talents; congratulating himself in secret, upon the good success of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his son Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, *That victory should be purchased with money, and not money saved at the expence of victory.*

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republick had resolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare against that which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Orea with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the last was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war against Gentius; and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had surrendered to him, with great moderation, the other cities

cities soon followed its example. Gentius himself was reduced to come, and throw himself at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy; confessing, with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory, and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrious prisoners very much augmented the people's joy. Publick thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the temples crowded with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foot of the mountain Olympus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipæus in front, whose banks were very high; and on the side where he lay he had thrown up good entrenchments, with towers from space to space, on which were placed balistæ, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner, as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes to weaken, and at last repulse, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find to subsist his troops, and maintain his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprize with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the license wherein it had been suffered to live. He reformed several things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops, as the duty of centinels. It had been a custom amongst the

soldiers to criticise upon their general, to examine all his actions amongst themselves, to prescribe him conduct, and to explain upon what he should or should not do. He spoke to them with resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand, that such discourses did not become a soldier, that he ought to make only three things his business; the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean, and in good condition; and of his * provisions, that he might be always in a readiness to march upon the first notice; that for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himself, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to evidence their valour, and that they had only to take care to do their duty well, when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this discourse. The old soldiers declared, that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A surprizing change was immediately observed in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses, and shields; practising an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and inuring themselves in all military exercises; so that it was easy to foresee, that upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose thoughts extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged, from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made at the foot of it, and
pits

* The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provisions for ten or twelve days.

pits to be dug in the sand. The surface * was scarce broke up, when springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, though natural, was looked upon by the soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp; the ardour of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises, by which they prepared themselves for combat, he began to be greatly disquieted, and perceived plainly, that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius and Hostilius, or a Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely altered with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in forming them by different exercises, added new works to the old, and used all means to put his camp out of danger of insult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongst the soldiers an inexpressible ardour to signalize themselves also on their side. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress this news; but his care to dissemble it, only served to make it more publick and certain. The alarm was general amongst his troops, who apprehended the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to the peace, that at Rome had so highly offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height

A a 2

of

* Vix deducta summa arena quam, velut deum dono, cœperat, cum scaturigenes turbidæ aliquantum ea quoque res primo & tenues emicare, deinde duci famæ & auctoritatis apud milites adjecit. *Liv.*

of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought, the best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days.

To shew how little he made of the pacifick mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable, that the Roman army, which the year before had penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Thessaly; perhaps, upon account of provisions; for at present they consulted upon measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's entrenchments upon the banks of the Enipæus. They observed, that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion, that Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and attack the sea-coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipæus, for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to chuse what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw, that the Enipæus, as well from its natural situation, as the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines as those were, had been to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve them as his children. He kept quiet therefore, for some days, without making the least motion. Plutarch says, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous,

numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other, in such profound peace, and so perfect a tranquillity. In any other times the soldiers would have murmured out of ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent enquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhœbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhœbia, which led to Pythium, a town situate upon the brow of mount * Olympus: That this way was not of difficult access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sent thither a detachment of five thousand men. He conceived, that in causing this post to be attacked in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beat out, and he take possession of it. It was necessary, therefore, to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the prætor Octavius, and having opened himself to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days provisions with him for a thousand men; in order to make Perseus believe, that he was going to ravage the sea-coasts. At the same time he made his son Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out: He gave them a detachment of five thousand chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the sea-side towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, quitting their rout by the coast, they advanced, without halting, towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhœbian guides. It had been concluded, that they should arrive there the third day before it was light.

In the mean time, Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the
A a 3
enemy,

* The perpendicular height of the *was situated, was upwards of ten mountain Olympus, where Pythium stadia, or half a league.*

enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts; the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a slight engagement in the course of the river itself, which was then very low. The banks on each side, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of three hundred paces, and the stream was a thousand paces broad. The action passed in the sight of the king and consul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded towards noon. The loss was almost equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom they fought; the enemy, from the tops of the towers upon the banks, poured clouds of darts and stones upon them. The consul lost abundance more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still, and seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Perseus did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

Scipio arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the remainder of the night. Perseus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a sudden a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his security, by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprize him. The king, terrified with the news, detached immediately ten thousand foreign soldiers, with two thousand Macedonians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all possible diligence to take possession of an eminence, which the Romans had still to pass, before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very rude engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in suspense. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all sides, and

and were put to the rout. Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Perseus, they occasioned so great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, seized with fear, and almost in despair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon proper measures. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops into his towns, supply them well with provisions, and expect the enemy there, who could not subsist long in a country, which he had taken care to lay waste, and could furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution had great inconveniencies, and argued the prince reduced to the last extremity, without either hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he had drawn upon himself by ruining the country, which he had not only commanded, but executed in person. Whilst Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt; the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons re-animated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, assigned every one his post, and gave all orders with great presence of mind; resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there were a ridge of little hills, which joining together, gave the light-armed foot, and the archers, a secure retreat, and also a means to conceal their marching to surround

the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season (for it was then about the end of summer) but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the sea-coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted to deliberate upon what he had to do. The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him, to intreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the pressing instances he made. He represented to him, that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses through defiles and forests, as had happened in the preceding years. He advised him therefore, whilst the enemy was in open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair an occasion of conquering him.

"Formerly," replied the consul to young Scipio, "I thought as you do now, and one day you will think as I do. I shall give you the reasons of my conduct another time; at present, satisfy yourself, and rely upon the discretion of an old general." The young officer was silent, convinced that the consul had good reasons for acting as he did.

After

After having spoken thus, he commanded the troops, who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans, in three lines. At the same time the pioneers (*c*), covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was soon completed. The consul made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the entrenchments, without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king on his side, seeing the Romans declined fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was an inviolable* law amongst the Romans, though they were to stay only one day and night in a place, to enclose themselves in a well-fortified camp: By that means they placed themselves out of insult, and avoided all surprize. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the entrenchments served instead of walls, and the tents, of houses. In case of a battle, if the army were overcome, the camp served for their retreat and refuge; and if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and security.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreshment, whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark, and the light failing by little and little, it changed its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers, with the consul's permission, had apprized them of the eclipse, and shewn them the exact moment when it would begin, and how long it would

(*c*) *Hastati Principes Triarii.*

* *Majores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitus ducebant esse.—Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro moenibus & tentorium suum*

cuique militi domus ac penates sunt—Castra sunt victori receptaculum victo perfugium. Liv. l. xlv. n. 39.

would continue. The Roman soldiers therefore were not astonished at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread; and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or rather very superstitious, applied himself to offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty, one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one-and-twentieth, he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god of an hundred oxen, with publick games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He desired therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before, were: First, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably by the great detachment for the guard of the baggage. In the second place, would it have consisted with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them insupportable pain? In the last place, he insisted strongly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well-entrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here, * that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general; the former have only to desire, and behave well in, battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to chuse his measures with mature deliberation; and by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he often preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Though the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not very warm on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to assist these foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance to support the Thracians; the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle: This puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that the latter, whatever efforts they made, were unable to reach them with their swords; and he saw, at the same time, that the whole front-line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brass, and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke
after-

* Divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione sapius quam temeritate procedere. *Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.*

afterwards of the impresson that dreadful sight made upon him, and what reason it gave him to doubt of the success of the battle. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety, and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than sixty years of age, was seen exposing himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the ensign of his company, and tossed it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves, in consequence, like desperate men upon that battalion. Astonishing actions ensued on both sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, and to push them back with their bucklers; striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aside, in order to open themselves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave those such great strokes that flung upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldest of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to rush headlong, like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to hurry upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front-line being thus put into disorder, the second was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not fly indeed; but, instead of advancing, they retreated toward mount * Olocris. When Paulus Æmilius saw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered with pikes,

and

* That mountain was evidently part of Olympus.

and close as an impenetrable entrenchment ; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broke nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every-where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, whilst it advanced on the other ; which must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the void spaces of the enemy's battle, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order, given so critically, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broke in an instant, and all its force, which consisted solely in its union, and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman shields, which were very strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot ; on the contrary, they opposed small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarce discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, and being taken on their weak side, resisted with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle,

battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a sacrifice to Hercules; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules were a god that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows; for it is not just that he should be victorious, who durst not face his enemy: Whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid by fighting valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there, also, that the son of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's son-in-law, after having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost his sword, which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite out of himself and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way, and remaining masters of the ground, they applied themselves in searching for the sword, which they found at last under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as stood firm; so that at length the three thousand Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled, and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead, and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with their blood. It is said that five-and-twenty thousand men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only an hundred, and made eleven or twelve thousand prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in this battle, seeing the foot

put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, from their violent ardour against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far; so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp, where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of * ivy and crowns of laurel.

But in the midst of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was in an universal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They searched for him with torches amongst the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very much advanced, and they despaired of ever seeing him more, he returned from the pursuit, attended only by two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears, and ruins no less to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately dispatched three couriers of distinction (of whom his son Fabius was one) to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In

* *This was a custom among the Romans. Caesar writes in the third book of the civil war, That he found in Pompey's camp the tents*

of Lentulus, and some others, covered with ivy. L. etiam Lentuli & nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hederâ.

In the mean time Perseus, continuing his flight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his horse, which had escaped from the battle without striking a blow. The foot-soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their resentment farther, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who apprehended the consequences of that tumult, quitted the high road, and, that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and, to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted, and led his horse in his hand. Several of those who attended him took different routs from his, under various pretexts; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of the prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and enflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers, three only remained with him, and those all strangers. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom to give him their counsel, upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely lost him with every body. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of
Castor

Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perseus was in Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that island.

He was encamped (e) at Sires, * in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding tears, when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a sensible example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, *Perseus the king, to the consul Paulus Æmilius, greeting*; the stupid ignorance that prince seemed to be in of his condition, extinguished in him all sense of compassion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and supplicant style, and little consisted with the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans; to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived the name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commissioners should be sent to treat with him, which was granted. This negotiation had no effect, because, on the one side, Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, insisted, that he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

VOL. VI.

B b

During

(e) Liv. l. xlv. n. 3---9. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

* An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontier of Macedonia.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, in respect to the gods who presided in it, but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

A young Roman (named Acilius) either of himself, or in concert with the prætor, took another course to draw the king out of the sanctuary. In the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them: "Is it a truth, or without foundation, that your island is held a sacred and inviolable asylum throughout all its extent?" Upon being answered by all present, that it was undoubtedly so. "How then," continued he, "do you suffer its sanctity to be violated by an homicide, contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes? And as all religious ceremonies begin by the exclusion of those whose hands are impure, how can you suffer your temple to be profaned and defiled by the presence of an infamous murderer?" This accusation fell upon Perseus; but the Samothracians chose rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew had been the agent in the intended assassination of Eumenes. They sent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he should appear, according to the custom of their sanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he should take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The king having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest terms not to submit to that sentence. He had his reasons for giving this counsel, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order, and therefore gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent to it, and professing, that he had rather die by poison than the sword, he intended to make his escape by flight. The king was aware of that design,
and

and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their resentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magistrate with presents of money, who declared in the assembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himself.

The prætor, not being able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, was reduced to deprive him of all means to embark and make his escape. However, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treasures; they amounted to two thousand talents, that is, to about three hundred thousand pounds. But, suspicious as he was, he did not dispossess himself of the whole; sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest of it to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped all the gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening, and let Perseus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and such of his people as were absolutely necessary to attend his person.

The appointed time approaching, Perseus with infinite difficulty crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden, and got out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son. The remainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and despair was inexpressible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under sail. He had entrusted his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly surrendered himself and Philip his son to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the consul; having first apprized him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius sent his son-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perseus, in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his son. The consul, who waited for him with a sufficiently numerous train, upon his arrival rose from his seat, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raised him immediately, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit down, facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him; “What cause of discontent had induced him to enter with so much animosity into a war with the Roman people, that exposed himself and his kingdom to the greatest dangers?” When, instead of the answer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and shedding tears, kept silence. Paulus Æmilius continued to this effect: “Had you ascended the throne a youth, I should be less surprized at your being ignorant of what it was to have the Roman people for your friends or enemies. But having been present in the war made by your father against us, and certainly remembering the peace, which we have punctually observed on our side, how could you prefer war rather than peace, with a people, whose force in the former, and fidelity in the latter, you had so well experienced?” Perseus making no more answer to this reproach than he had done to the first question: “In whatsoever manner, notwithstanding,” resumed the consul, “these affairs have happened; whether they are the effects of error, to which all mankind are liable, or of chance, or that fatal destiny which superintends all things, take courage. The clemency with which the Roman people have behaved in regard to many other kings and nations, ought to inspire you, I do not say with

“ some hope only, but with almost entire confidence, “ that you will meet with the same treatment.” He spoke this in Greek to Perseus: Then turning towards the Romans, “ You * see,” said he in his own language, “ a great example of the inconstancy of “ human affairs. It is to you principally, young Romans, I address this discourse. The uncertainty of “ what may happen to us every day, ought to teach “ us never to use any one with insolence and cruelty “ in our prosperity, nor rely too much upon our present advantages. The proof of real merit and true “ valour is neither to be too elate in good, nor too “ dejected in bad, fortune.” Paulus Æmilius, having dismissed the assembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter-quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perseus had (f) reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the † fortieth king from Caranus, who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure, till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend however beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part

B b 3

of

(f) Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

* Exemplum insigne cernitis, inquit, mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbè ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsentì credere fortunæ, cum, quid vesper serat incertum sit. Is demum vir erit, cujus animum

nec prospera flatu suo efferet, nec adversa infringet. Liv.

† Livy, such as we have him, says the twentieth. Justin the thirtieth. It is thought there is an error in the figure, and that it should be corrected, the fortieth with Eusebius.

of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia; and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander, subjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean, to Arabia on one side, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest that had been in the world, divided, or rather torn, into different kingdoms, after the death of Alexander by his successors, who took each part to himself, subsisted during something more than an hundred and fifty years; from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so-much-boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more justly, the example of the most vain and most frantick ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in their Circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought at Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands, and cries of victory throughout the whole Circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict enquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour, without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope, that it was perhaps a presage of victory, which either was already, or would soon be, obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial

narrative of the battle, first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Publick prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, who went thither to return thanks to the gods for their signal protection vouchsafed the republick.

After the nomination of (g) new consuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and that in Illyria to L. Anicius : Ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free; in order that all nations might know, the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; so that the one, under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other, who were under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and justice by them, in consideration for the Romans; or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know, that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans, and liberty for them. The senate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and land-estates; because those duties could not be collected but by the ministry of tax-farmers, commonly called publicans; and that whenever such sort * of farmers are suffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppressed. They established a general council for the nation; lest the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a destructive licence. Macedonia was divided into four regions; each of which had a distinct council, and were to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part

the

B b 4

A. M.
3837.
Ant. J. C.
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(g) Liv. l. xlv. n. 17, 18.

* Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum, aut libertatem focis nullam esse. Liv.

the orders with which the commissioners for Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrisons should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. In regard to some people, who, either before or during the war, had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; all the rest were discharged from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the kings. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their publick council and magistrates.

Before the deputies for Macedonia (*b*) arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited, during the autumn, the most celebrated cities of Greece; to see those things with his own eyes, which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He passed through Thessaly, in his way to Delphos, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vessels, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprized him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, *That the vanquished ought to give place to the victors.*

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the * oracle descended.

He

(*b*) Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

* For an account of this oracle, see Book X. Chap. III. Sect. II.

He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddesses Her-cynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Tro-phonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the sea, which is there very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon sailed for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddesses.

After having passed through Oropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilochus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated by ancient renown, where abundance of objects presented themselves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity: The citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know, whether the matter or art were most admirable. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddesses of the citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded an excellent philosopher of the Athenians to finish the education of his children, and a fine painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting: A very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience, and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary, however, to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences, and their manners by that of moral virtue,
which

which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. To know what are the effects of such an education, we have not only to consider the future greatness of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father; who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who distinguished himself as much by polite learning and the sciences, as by his military virtues; who held it for his honour to have Polybius the historian, Panætius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to use the terms of a * writer of excellent sense, never said, did, or thought, any thing unworthy a Roman. Paulus Æmilius, having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied:

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him. The first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus, which separated by a very small neck of land two neighbouring seas, the one on the east, and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way, and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where he saw an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined to have received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue

* P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus; omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingenio ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vita nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit ac sensit. *Paterc. l. i. c. 12.*

statue of Jupiter, Phidias's master-piece, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that *This Jupiter of Phidias, was the exact Jupiter of Homer* *. Imagining himself in the Capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than he had done any where else.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, and to avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice, that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprized to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reprov'd Sulpicius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him, with Philip his son, into the hands of Posthumius, with orders to guard him better. For his daughter and younger son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them, as their birth and condition required.

The commissioners (i) being come thither, as had been agreed on by them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present, he took his seat in his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be made by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in Latin the regulations made by the senate and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, that Macedonia was

was

(i) Liv. l. xlv. n. 29, 30.

* To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praise of Phidias; but the having so well conceived all the majesty of God, is much more to that of Homer.

was declared free; that it should pay the Romans only half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns; that it should have a publick council, composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be discussed and adjudged; that it should be divided for the future into four regions or cantons, that should each have their council, in which particular affairs should be examined; and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands or houses out of their own canton. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prætor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that for the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, who little expected them: But they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their usual commerce with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by separating its members, which have no life, and subsist only in their mutual support of each other.

The consul (*k*) afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians. I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

After those foreign affairs were over, (*l*) Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first upon the senators, who were to compose the publick council, wherein the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent into Italy, with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved only for the better security of the people's liberty. For this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such

as

as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius, were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was entire reason to be satisfied; and the effects, from which the nature of laws are best known, proved, that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

To these serious affairs (*m*) succeeded a celebration of games, for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts; the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expences; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself. For having so many thousands to receive, he evidenced so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reason to praise his politeness and generosity. The Greeks could not sufficiently admire, that even in games, till then unknown to the Romans, he should instance so distinguishing a judgment and attention; and that a man employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He

(*m*) Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. xlv. n. 32.

He had caused all the spoils, that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap; bows, quivers, arrows, javelins, in a word, arms of all sorts; and caused them to be disposed of in form of trophies. With a torch in his hand, he set fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for the occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich moveables, statues, and paintings of the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the times of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and which was still more grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration, as himself. And as people were surprized at the fine order of his table, he said, with an air of pleasantry, that the same genius which was necessary in disposing a battle, would serve also in regulating a feast; in the first, it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His disinterestedness and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness; for he never so much as saw the gold and silver found amongst the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers, in order to its being applied to the use of the publick. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of study, to keep the books of Perseus's library for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not profess a contempt for learning,

nor

nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profession of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius (*n*) had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks, and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to abuse the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve it by good government and union, he set out for Epirus, with a decree of the senate, to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party, to be plundered by his troops. He had sent also Scipio Nasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general, being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper, for the more prudent execution of his commission, that his design should not be foreseen. He therefore sent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, in order that the Epirots should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians. So unworthy a stratagem was called prudence. He then signified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they should bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples upon a certain day into the market-place, to be laid up in the publick treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the publick place, and at ten of the clock the soldiers fell furiously upon the houses that were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. An hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demolished, the number of which wanted very little of seventy. The whole booty was sold, and of the sum raised by it, each of the horse had about ten pounds sterling, (four hundred denarii) and each of the foot about five pounds, (two hundred denarii.)

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused
this

this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the sea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius having assembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons of them, whose cause had been reserved for the judgment of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius, being (o) arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, entered that river in king Perseus's galley, which had sixteen benches of oars, and wherein was displayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the rich stuffs and finest carpets of purple found amongst the booty. All the Romans, who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds upon the side of the river, and seemed to give the proconsul an anticipation of the honours of the triumph he had so well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very ill satisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's exactitude, in point of discipline, rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by avarice, threw a false gloss upon the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every thing.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been so magnificent. It continued three days successively. I do not enter in this place into a particular account of it; that seems foreign to the Grecian History. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and silver vessels, amounted to more than twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. One single cup of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had

caused

caused to be made, and weighed * ten talents, was valued for the gold only, at an hundred thousand crowns. It was adorned with jewels, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

Besides these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in pomp, was seen the chariot of Perseus, with his arms, and upon his arms, his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their household, who shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour, by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two sons and a daughter, who had little sense of the greatness of their calamity, from the tenderness of their years; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilst their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the publick joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children and all their train, wrapt in a mourning cloke. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who, hanging down their heads and weeping, with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said, that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius, not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, *The favour he asks of me is in his own power, he can procure it for himself.* He reproached in those few words his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful

* The talent weighed sixty pounds.

to attempt upon one's life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius, seated in a superb chariot, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him, was to have him removed from the publick prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried, by the order of the senate, to Alba, where he was guarded, and supplied with money, furniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of a triumph; the first for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, and offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, without receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his ancient services than late fault, they would send back his son, but without accepting any ransom. That the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

ARTICLE II.

THIS second article includes the space of something more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perseus, to the taking and destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

SECT. I. *ATTALUS comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their success in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians present themselves before the senate, and endeavour to appease their wrath. After long and warm solicitations, they prevail to be admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exercised against the Ætolians. All of them in general, who had favoured PERSEUS, are cited to Rome, to answer for their conduct. A thousand Achæans carried thither: POLYBIUS one of the number. The senate banishes them into several towns of Italy. After seventeen years of banishment, they are sent back into their own country; when only three hundred of them remained.*

AMONGST the different embassies from kings and states, which came to Rome after the victory over Perseus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him, (a) more than all others, the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Asiatick Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the republick's aid against those Barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him to make that voyage. It was necessary to congratulate the Romans upon their last victory, and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity, that a prince could expect, who had approved, in the army in Macedonia, a constant and determinate attachment for

A. M.
3837.
Ant. J. C
167.

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(a) Polyb. Legat. xciii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 19, 20.

the Romans. He had a most honourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes, which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if not suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negotiations with Perseus, of which they had been apprized, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their side, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business his brother had sent him to treat; but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand, that the senate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend incapable of changing. We may perceive here the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached lines may serve to unveil it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal itself.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a character to reject such pleasing hopes, when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and this proposal, and the rather, because they came from some of the principal persons of Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and

to recall him to his duty by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very insinuating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either discovered, or learnt from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took the advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, That the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been improved solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it. That only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in effect. That Eumenes, having no male issue, (for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him, was not then in being) he could leave his throne only to his next brother. That his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore incontestable; and that, considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he desire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by such division, and exposed to the enterprizes of their neighbours, might be equally undone in the consequence. That if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or send him, at his years, into banishment? or, in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? That he did not doubt, but such thoughts must give him horror. That, not to speak of the fabulous accounts of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus might remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the scepter from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same scepter at the feet of a victor, in the temple of

Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of the gods who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured, the very persons, who less out of friendship for him, than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers! Of what value must a sincere, prudent, and disinterested friend appear at such a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking freely, and without reserve to him; and of being known by them in that light! The wise remonstrances of Stratius had their effect with Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother, or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the senate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modestly displayed the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired, that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls, and to reduce them to their former state; and concluded with requesting, that the investiture of Ænus and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions upon part of his brother's dominions, promised beforehand to send ambassadors according to his demand, and made the prince the usual presents. They promised besides to put him into possession of the

two cities, as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended to find that he had done nothing they expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him; and, before the prince was out of Italy, declared Ænus and Maronæa free and independent cities. They sent, however, an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different instructions to those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy took off the mask entirely at this time, and shewed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

The senate some days (*b*) after gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noise. They were at first refused to be heard, as having rendered themselves unworthy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate with great difficulty, they appeared there as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in their tears. Aëtymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sighs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to shew at first his desire to justify it. He knew, that it had justly incurred the anger of the Roman people; he confessed its faults; he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke, had rendered still more criminal: But he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them, and whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented, that there were no republick nor city, that did not include some bad members. That after all, there was no other crimes objected to them but words; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant (which he confessed to be the characteristicks and failings of his nation) but such as wise persons

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(*b*) Polyb. Legat. xciii---xcix, c, & civ. Liv. l. xlvi n. 20---25.

feldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity. "But," said he, "the neutrality, observed by us in the late war, is looked upon as a certain proof of our enmity in regard to you. * Is there a tribunal in the world, wherein the intention, when without effect, is punished as the action itself? But let your severity be carried to that excess, at most the punishment can only fall on those who have had this intention, and then the majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that this neutrality and inaction make us all criminal; ought the real services we have rendered you, in the two preceding wars, to be deemed as nothing, and will they not cover the omission imputed to us in the last? Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus bear witness now in our cause. The voices of the two first will certainly be for us, and absolve us; and, for the third, at most, and in the severest sense, the sentence must appear doubtful and uncertain. Can you then, according to this state of the question, pass a fatal decree against Rhodes; for you are now upon the point of deciding, whether it shall subsist any longer, or be entirely destroyed? You may declare war against us; but not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your resentment, we demand time to go and report our deputation, at Rhodes, and at that moment our whole city, men, women, and free persons, will embark, with all our estates and effects; we will abandon our household gods, as well publick as private, and come to Rome, where, after we have thrown our gold and silver, and all we have, at your feet, we will deliver up ourselves, our wives and our children, to your discretion. We will suffer here before your eyes, whatever you shall think fit to inflict

* Neque moribus neque legibus nire, si nihil fecerit quo id fiat, illius civitatis ita comparatum capitis damnetur. *Liv.*
esse, ut si quis vellet inimicum pe-

“ inflict upon us. If Rhodes is condemned to be
 “ plundered and set on fire, at least we shall spare our-
 “ selves the sight of that calamity. You may by your
 “ resolves declare yourselves our enemies; but there
 “ is a secret sense in the bottom of our hearts, that
 “ declares quite the contrary, and assures us, that
 “ whatever hostilities you may act against us, you will
 “ never find us otherwise than friends and servants.”

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the senators, with olive-branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had served in Macedonia in quality of consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated censor, known by the severity of his character, which often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, intitled, *De Originibus*, wherein he had inserted his own orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so valuable a collection. Aulus Gellius (c) has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's; by which it appears, he made use of almost the same reasons with the ambassadors of Rhodes. I shall cite some passages of it at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energetic style, which characterized the Roman eloquence in those ancient times, when more attention was had to the force of thoughts, than to the elegance of words.

Cato * begins his discourse by representing to the
 Romans,

(c) Liv. l. vii. c. 5.

* Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam augere atque crescere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res

Romans, that they ought not to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy. That prosperity generally excites pride and insolence. That he apprehends, in the present case, they may form resolutions, which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they give themselves up, to vanish like a dream. “Adversity,” says he, “in humbling the spirit, restores us to our reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done. Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and makes us lose sight of the measures, which a calm situation of mind would enable us to discern, and execute. It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, that we should defer the decision of this affair, till having recovered from the violent emotions of our joy, we may be masters of ourselves, and capable of deliberating with more maturity.” He adds, “That he indeed believes the Rhodians were far from desiring that the Romans should have conquered Perseus; but that they had such sentiments in common with all other states; sentiments, which did not proceed from their enmity to the Romans, but from the love of their own liberty; for which they had just cause to fear, when there should be none in a condition to dispute empire with us, and we should become absolute masters of all nations. For the rest, the Rhodians did not aid Perseus. Their whole * crime, by the consent of their most violent accusers, is to have intended to declare war against us. But how long has the will, the intention only, been a crime? Is there any one amongst

“us

res tam secunde processit, nequid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriose eveniat. Adversæ res se dominant, & docent quid opus sit factò: secundæ res lætitia transversum trudere solent à recte consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum

ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus.

* Qui acerrime adversus eos dicit, ita dicit; hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem est nostrum, qui, quod ad sese attinet, æquum censet quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluisse? nemo opinor: nam ego, quod at me attinet nolum.

“ us, that would be willing to subject himself to this
 “ rule? For my part, I am sure, I would not. The
 “ * Rhodians, it is said, are proud. I should be very
 “ sorry that my children could justly make me that
 “ reproach. But pray, in what does their pride af-
 “ fect us? Would it become us to make it a crime in
 “ them to be prouder than we are?”

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator, as Cato, prevented a war against the Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but continued them in suspense. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishment. They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the first for two hundred talents (about twenty-five thousand pounds) of Ptolemy's general, and the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from those two cities an annual revenue of an hundred and twenty talents (or fifteen thousand pounds.) At the same time the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which considerably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians. For instead of a million of drachma's, (about five-and-twenty thousand pounds sterling) to which the revenue from those customs amounted before, it paid afterwards only an hundred and fifty thousand (about three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling.)

The senate's answer, having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms against the republick, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to make people next to insensible of small ones. How hard soever those orders were, they submitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed,

at

* Rhodienſes ſuperbos eſſe aiunt, id obſequantur quod mihi à ſint ſane ſuperbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Idne irascimini, ſiquis ſuperbior eſt quam nos?

at the same time, a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of * ten thousand pieces of gold, and chose their admiral Theodotus to present it. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almost an hundred and forty years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republick; which was a fetch of their politicks. They were not for hampering their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; that continuing free, and their own masters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any besides the Romans; but to remove, by that change, all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republick. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time. They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then, without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, at his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared, that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman people.

I have before observed, (d) that the Ætolians had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lyciscus and Tisippus, whom the credit of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bibius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death

(d) Liv. l. xlv. n. 28---32.

* This might amount to about six thousand pounds, reckoning the piece of gold (χρυσός) at twelve shillings, or thereabouts.

death five hundred and fifty of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was, their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment, and that the estates both of the one and the other had been abandoned to their accusers. The enquiry was confined to knowing, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The dead were declared to have been killed, and the exiles to have been banished, justly. Bibius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution: But why condemned, if it was just; or if not, why were those acquitted, who had been the principal authors of it?

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any inclination for Perseus, and exceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly asserting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their several cities; but were in no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon those who espoused the Roman interest, after the defeat of Perseus; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners, appointed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand, that besides those who had declared publicly for Perseus, there were abundance of
others,

others, secretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the colour of asserting liberty, influenced the whole people against them, and that those cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans; unless, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those, who had only the interest of the commonwealth at heart, was fully established. The ten commissioners perfectly relished those reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to consider, and treat all as criminals, who were not of the Roman party, and to reward all that should declare themselves their accusers and enemies, with abundant graces and favours? We see here to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duty and decency, and induce them to sacrifice justice, as well as every thing else, when it opposes their views. The virtue of the Pagans was but a weak, and very fluctuating principle.

That appears evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general, to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attend him from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commissioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such as, in publick or private, had favoured Perseus.

A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. Of all the small states of Greece (*e*), none gave the Roman republick so much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia; or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it, by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by
their

their credit to all employments, and by whose means they decided in all the assemblies of the league. We have seen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now speak of, the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the partisans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten commissioners, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to support Perseus. They did not think it would suffice to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other states, that they should send such of their citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus; but they sent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, should refuse obedience to the letters that should be wrote them; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the risque of their lives in the assembly: The second, because in the letters, which had been found amongst Perseus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achæans.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. One of them, more abandoned to injustice than the other, (Pausanias does not say which) complained in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against the Romans, and demanded, that they should be condemned as deserving death, after which he should name them. The whole assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on all sides, that it was an unheard-of thing to condemn persons before it was declared who they were, and pressed him to make known the guilty. Upon repeated instances to explain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered them-

themselves guilty of that crime. Xeon, upon that, who was a person of great credit, and very much respected by the league, spoke to this effect: "I have
 " commanded the armies, and have had the honour
 " to be the chief magistrate of the league; I protest,
 " that I have never acted in any thing contrary to the
 " interests of the Romans, which I am ready to prove
 " either in the assembly of the Achæans, or at Rome
 " before the senate." The Roman took hold of this expression, as favourable to his designs, and decreed, that all those who had been charged by Callicrates, should be sent to Rome, in order to justify themselves there. The whole assembly was in the highest affliction upon this sentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his son Alexander. Those princes, though irresistibly powerful, never conceived the thought of causing such as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphyctions, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which may justly be called tyrannical, caused above a thousand of the most considerable citizens of the Achæan league to be seized and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned his presence as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the publick baths after him, till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of these exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interests of the Achæan league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his son. In regard to policy, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great statesman, for his master; and for war, Philopœmen, one of the most able and intrepid generals of antiquity. It was under these tutors he imbibed those learned lessons of government and war, which
 he

he practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in his writings.

As soon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the republick cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate with the two sons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldest of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipioes. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged sufficiently, in the conclusion of the history of the Carthaginians, upon the intimate friendship of Polybius with this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his lessons and counsels to the best advantage. It is very probable, that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history, or, at least, collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the senate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing, without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

The Achæans (*f*), surprized and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate would vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were answered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themselves. Upon that reply, the Achæans sent back the same deputies to Rome, (with Euræas at their head) to protest again before the senate, that those Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræas, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders

he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accusation, and not suffer the accused to perish, without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wished the senate would examine the affair themselves, and make known the guilty; but, in case their other great affairs should not afford them leisure for such enquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them justice in such a manner, as should evidence the greatness of their aversion for the culpable. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to answer it. On the one side, they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to dismiss the exiles, without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The senate, to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more submissive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other states to the partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them, that the return of the exiles consisted with theirs, or the interest of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece, into a consternation. An universal mourning succeeded it. They were convinced, that there was nothing farther to hope for the accused Achæans, and that their banishment was perpetual.

However (g), they sent new deputies, with instructions to demand the return of the exiles; but as suppliants, and as a favour; lest in taking upon them their defence, they should seem ever so little to oppose the will of the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed, and sufficiently reserved. Notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared, that they

A. M.

3844.
nt. J. C.
149.

would persist in the regulations already made. The Achæans (h) would not be rejected, and appointed several deputations at different times, but

with

(g) Polyb. Legat. cxxxi.

(h) Id. Legat. cxxix, cxxx.

with no better success; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate, in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated instances had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in full light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion, that it was proper to send home the exiles.

The Achæans, (i) having received advice of this favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation. The exiles had been already banished seventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon them in the senate; some being for their return into their country, and their being restored to the possession of their estates; and others opposing it. Scipio, at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave senator, rising up to speak in his turn: "To see us," said he, "dispute
"an whole day, whether some poor old men of Greece
"shall be interred by our grave-diggers, or those of
"their own country, would not one believe, that we
"had nothing at all to do?" That pleasantry was all that was wanting to make the senate ashamed of so long a contest, and to determine it at last to send back the exiles into Peloponnesus. Polybius was for desiring, that they might be re-instated in all the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to sound Cato upon it, who told him, smiling, "Polybius, you do not imitate the wisdom
"of Ulysses. You are for returning into the cave of
"the Cyclops for some miserable tatters you have left
"there." The exiles accordingly returned into their country, but of the thousand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no use of this permission, or if he did, he soon rejoined Scipio, seeing three years after he was with him at the siege of Carthage.

A. M.
3854.
Ant. J. C.
150.

(i) Plut. in Cato Cens. p. 341.

SECT. II. *Mean flatteries of PRUSIAS, king of Bithynia, in the senate. EUMENES, become suspected by the Romans, is not suffered to enter Rome. ARIARATHES, king of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by a son of the same name. Death of EUMENES. ATTALUS, his brother, succeeds him, as guardian to his son, then very young. War between ATTALUS and PRUSIAS. The latter having formed the design of putting his son NICOMEDES to death, is killed by him. Embassy of three celebrated Athenian philosophers to Rome. Another from the people of Marseilles. Digression upon the city of Marseilles.*

AFTER the defeat of Perseus, new embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment they seemed to have to that prince; and some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Prusias, king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs.

A. M. 3838.
Ant. J. C. 166. Prusias being come to Rome, (a) to make the senate and Roman people his compliments of congratulation upon the good success of the war against Perseus, dishonoured the royal dignity by abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head shaved, and with the cap, habit, shoes and stockings of a slave made free; and saluting the deputies, *You see*, said he, *one of your freed-men ready to fulfil whatsoever you shall please to command, and to conform entirely to all your customs.* When he entered the senate, he stood at the door, facing the senators who sat, and prostrating himself, kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, *I salute you, gods preservers*, cried he; and went on with a discourse suitable to that prelude.

(a) Polyb. Legat. xcvi. Liv. l. xlv. n. 44.

prelude. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing: He contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before, and with some reason. For that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, who suffered, as the prince who acted it.

Prusias had scarce left Rome (*b*), when advice came, that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate some trouble. Eumenes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner, that they could neither continue him as a friend or an enemy. There was reason for violent suspicions; but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: To condemn him as guilty, was to lay themselves under the necessity of a war with him; and to proclaim to all the world, that they had failed in point of prudence, by loading a prince with fortunes and honours, whose character they were little acquainted with. To avoid these inconveniencies, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great a charge to the republick, they forbade all kings in general to enter that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned therefore into his own dominions.

This affront encouraged his enemies, (*c*) and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador

D d 3

A. M.
3839.
Ant. J. C.
to 165.

(*b*) Polyb. Legat. xcvi.
cv, cvi, cxix, cxxi.

(*c*) Ibid. Legat. xcvi, cii, civ,

to Rome, to complain of the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus; that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Grecians his neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf. That people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves with aiding and supporting the Gallo-Grecians underhand, to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers, Attalus and Athæneus, thither, to answer the accusations he was charged with. The apology they made seemed finally to confute all complaints against the king, and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them back into Asia, laden with honours and presents. They did not, however, entirely efface the prejudices conceived against their brother. The senate dispatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design against the Romans.

Sulpicius (*d*) acted in this commission with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused all the cities to be informed, that such as had any complaints to make in regard to that prince, might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes: A liberty that set all malcontents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies!

A. M. Tiberius Gracchus, whom the senate sent the following year into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which

con-

convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to the senate accordingly. He gave as favourable an account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who had married the sister of Eumenes. That prince died some time after. His son Ariarathes, (e) A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. surnamed Philopater, succeeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came to age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never consent; from whence he was called *Philopater*, that is, *lover of his father*. An action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide.

As soon as the young king ascended the throne (f), he sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty his father had made with the Romans should be renewed, which was granted him, with praises.

Some time after, (g) notwithstanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria, and one of his elder brothers set in his place, who was a supposed son, named Holofernes. Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors also thither. The senate decreed, that the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms between brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of an eternal division between them. Attalus, in the first year of his reign, re-established him in the sole possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

Eumenes was always suspected by the Romans, and almost continually at war with Prusias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died at length, after having reigned thirty-eight * years. He left for his successor (h) in the kingdom, his son Attalus, surnamed Philometer,

D d 4

then

(e) Diod. Eleg. p. 895. Legat. cxxvi.

(f) Polyb. Legat. cxxi.

(g) Id.

(h) Strab. l. xiii. p. 624.

* Strabo says, he reigned forty-three years, but that is presumed to be an error.

then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, sister of Ariarathes, and appointed guardian of his son, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one-and-twenty years.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The body of that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, his soul great, and abounding with the most noble sentiments. He gave place to none of the kings (*i*) his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleness of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus, when he received it from his father, consisted only of a very small number of cities, which scarce deserved that name. He rendered it so powerful, that it might have disputed pre-eminence with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune; still using the words of Polybius. Every thing was the result of his prudence, labour, and activity. From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private persons, than any prince. To finish his character, he possessed so fully the art of engaging the respect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that though they were all of age and capacity to undertake for themselves, and shared with him in the functions of the sovereignty, they never failed in point of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and with equal zeal for his service, assisted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find such an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not to omit one thing in this place, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or, at least, considerably augmented it: But I shall speak of that elsewhere.

A. M. 5848. The division (*k*) which had almost perpetually subsisted
Ant. J. C.

356.

(*i*) Polyb. Exempt. Virt. & Vit. p. 166. (*k*) Polyb. Legat. cxxviii, cxxix, cxxxiii, cxxxv, cxxxvi,

sisted between Prusias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who succeeded the latter. Prusias, having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and violently enraged and afflicted, that he had failed of seizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march. Attalus sent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who sent several embassies at different times to forbid Prusias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded those orders, either by delays or even treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and Attalus. His design was discovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the less upon that account. Rome at other times would have punished it with the destruction of his kingdom. At this she was contented with sending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous armies both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came, that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resuming immediately their rout to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome, to inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace, which they

A. M.
3849.
Ant. J. C.
155.

presented him. This treaty imported; that Prusias should give immediately twenty deckt ships to Attalus; that he should pay him five hundred talents (five hundred thousand crowns) in the space of twenty years; and that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, such as they stood before the war; that Prusias, in reparation of the damages he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them an hundred talents, (an hundred thousand crowns.) When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

Attalus the younger, (*l*) son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome; in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuance of their amity, and, without doubt, to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could have expected, and all the honours suitable to his years; after which he set out for his dominions.

A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149. Prusias (*m*) also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome, and knowing that he was highly considered there, he gave him instructions to demand, that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to dispatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, Attalus's ambassadors demonstrating, that the whole sum was far from being equal to the losses his master had sustained from him. Menas, instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes.

The

(*l*) Polyb. Legat. cxi.
Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 4.

(*m*) Appian, in Mithridat. p. 175.

The young prince having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people into his party; for Prusias was universally hated for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers sent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side! Prusias was called *the hunter*, and had reigned at least six-and-thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge.

A. M.
3856.
Ant. J. C.
148.

This king of Bithynia's person (*n*) had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. He was in size but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous but soft, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and most of all, amongst the Bithynians. Polite learning, philosophy, and all other liberal knowledge, were entirely foreign to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of the great and good, the noble and the elegant. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus. So that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner he had governed them.

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome very near the same time.

The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a sentence passed on them by the Sicyonians (*o*), but under the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of five hundred talents, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers; Carneades, of the sect

A. M.
3849.
Ant. J. C.
155.

(*n*) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.
n. 155. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 14.

(*o*) Cic. l. ii. de Orat.

fect of the Academicks; Diogenes, of the Stoicks; and Critolaus, of the Peripateticks. The taste for eloquence and philosophy had not yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are speaking, that it began to spread there, and the reputation of these three philosophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taste for the sciences, made it their honour and amusement to visit them, and were struck with admiration in hearing them, especially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which solidity and ornament exalted each other, transported and enchanted them. It was universally talked, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and softening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and employments, to abandon themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable persons of Rome. His discourses, translated into Latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome saw, with great joy, their children apply themselves to the Grecian learning, and inseparable from those wonderful men. Cato only seemed sorry for it; apprehending, that this taste for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge; and that they would prefer the glory of speaking, to that of acting, well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time under the care of Polybius, in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates how ill founded that prejudice of Cato's was. However it were, he warmly reproached the senators for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city, and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be dispatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine, in which they had been condemned, was moderated, and the five hundred talents reduced to one hundred.

The

The other embassy was sent by the (*p*) people of Marseilles. They had already been often harrassed by the Ligurians, but at the time of which we now speak, they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace and equity by the method of amity and negotiation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate, being informed of this unhappy affair, made the consul Quintus Opimius march immediately against them with an army. He laid siege to the city (*q*) where the insult had been offered to the Roman ambassadors, took it by storm, made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be punished there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were beat and cut to pieces in several battles. The victor distributed all the conquered lands amongst the people of Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from molesting the people of Marseilles, as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in extreme consideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had constantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They were by origin (*r*) of Phocæa, a city of Ionia. When Xerxes sent Harpagus to besiege it, the inhabitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the Barbarians, as so many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects, and after various adventures, having cast a mass of red-hot iron into the sea, they all engaged themselves by oath
never

(*p*) Polyb. Legat. cxxxi, & cxxxiv,
l. i. c. 164. Justin. l. xliii. c. 3.

(*q*) *Egitna*.

(*r*) Hérod.

never to return to Phocæa, till that iron should swim upon the water. Afterwards, having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled there, by the consent of the king of the country, and built a city since called Marseilles. This foundation is said to have been made in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the forty-fifth Olympiad, and six hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great goodness, being dead, his son (*s*) did not shew them so much favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand, that those strangers, whom he had received into his country, as guests and suppliants, might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked her companion to lend her her house only for eight days, till she had brought forth her whelps; then by great intreaties obtained a second term to bring them up; and at last, when they were grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillians had, in consequence, at first a rude war upon their hands; but having been victorious, they continued in quiet possession of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In process of time they settled several (*t*) colonies, and built several cities; Agde, Nice, Antiba, Olbia; which much extended their territory, and augmented their power. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, that rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new settlements (*u*) contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occasioned a wonderful change in them. The Gauls, quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized,

(*s*) Justin. l. xliii. c. 4.
l. xliii. c. 4.

(*t*) Strab. p. 180.

(*u*) Justin.

lized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learnt to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives *. Hence so surprizing an alteration ensued, as well in the provinces as the people who inhabited them, that it might have been said, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been changed into Greece.

The (x) inhabitants of the new city made very wise laws for its polity and government, which was aristocratical, that is to say, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of six hundred senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assemblies, in quality of principal magistrates.

The right of hospitality (y) was in singular estimation amongst the Marseillians, and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to such as might have been for introducing sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double-dealing, falshood, and fraud.

They piqued themselves (z) especially upon sobriety, modesty, and frugality. The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed an hundred pieces of gold, that is to say, very near an hundred pistoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus (a), who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations

(x) Strab. l. iv. p. 179. (y) Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6. (z) Strab. l. iv. p. 181. (a) Lib. ii. c. 6.

* Adeo magnus & hominibus sed Gallia in Græciam translata & rebus impositus est nitor, ut videretur. *Justin.*
non Græcia in Galliam emigrasse,

lations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. "That city," says he, "stedfastly retaining" the * ancient severity of manners, excluded from "their theatre those comedians whose pieces generally" turn upon the subject of unlawful love." The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself. "Lest," adds the author, "a familiarity with such sort of shows should" make the people the more apt to imitate them."

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies those indecent tears and lamentations, with which they are generally attended, and ordered them to cease the same day by a domestick sacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased†. "For is it" consistent to abandon ourselves to immoderate affliction, or to be offended at the Divinity, for not "having thought fit to share his immortality with us?"

Tacitus has a passage upon the city of Marseilles highly in its praise; it is in his life of Julius Agricola his father-in-law. After having spoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of ‡ Julia Procilla, his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the most early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sciences that suited his birth and age; he adds, "What had preserved him from the dangers and disorders, to which youth is generally exposed, was, besides his own genius and disposition, the good fortune of having from his infancy the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manners of whose inhabitants the politeness of the Greeks, and the simplicity and reserve of the provinces were happily united." *Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius*

* Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est: nullam aditum in scenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.

† Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgere, aut divino

numini invidiam fieri, quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri nolueret?

‡ Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiaque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit. *Tacit. in Agricol. c. iv.*

ipſius bonam integramque naturam, quòd ſtatim parvulus ſedem ac magiſtram ſtudiorum Maſſiliam habuerit, locum Græca comitate & provinciali parſimonia miſtum ac bene compoſitum.

From what I have ſaid may be ſeen, that Marſeilles was become a celebrated ſchool for politeneſs, wiſdom, and virtue, and, at the ſame time, for all arts and ſciences. Eloquence, philoſophy, phyſick, mathematicks, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature, were publickly profeſſed there. This city produced (b) the moſt ancient of the learned men of the Weſt, I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and aſtronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They perſevered conſtantly in cultivating the arts and ſciences with equal ardour and ſucceſs. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Auguſtus) the young nobility of Rome went to Marſeilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itſelf; which is ſaying a great deal. We have already ſeen, that it retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the hitorian.

The Marſeillians diſtinguiſhed themſelves no leſs by the wiſdom of their government, than by their capacity and taſte for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, exceedingly magnifies their manner of governing their republick. * “ I am aſſured,” ſays he, “ that not only in Greece, but all other nations, “ there is nothing comparable to the wiſe polity eſta- “ bliſhed at Marſeilles. That city, ſo remote from “ the country, manners, and language of all other “ Greeks, ſituate in Gaul, in the miſt of barbarous “ nations that ſurround it on all ſides, is ſo prudently “ directed by the counſels of its elders, that it is

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(b) Voſſ. in Hiſtor. Græc.

* Cujus ego civitatis diſciplinam atque gravitatem, non ſolum Græciæ, ſed haud ſcio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam: quæ tam procul a Græcorum omnium regionibus, diſciplinis, linguaque diviſa, cum in ultimis

terrâs cinſta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus alluatur, ſic optimatum conſilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus inſtituta laudare facilius poſſint, quam æmulari. *Orat. pro Flacco*, n. lxiii.

“ more easy to praise, than imitate, the wisdom of
 “ its government.”

They laid it down as a fundamental (*c*) rule of their politicks, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the Barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, of whom they were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interests; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

Justin (*d*) relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillians, if it were well confirmed. Having received advice, that the Gauls had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that disaster of their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either of the publick or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered, as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. The (*e*) Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting amongst the senators at the publick shows. It is certain, that during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; the ill successes which they experienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, not being capable of shaking their fidelity in the least.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. Cæsar, (*f*) against whom they had shut their gates, caused the fifteen senators, who were

(*c*) Strab. l. iv. p. 180.

(*d*) Justin. l. xliii. c. 5.

(*e*) Liv. l. xxi. n. 20, 25, 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

(*f*) Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. i.

were in supreme authority, to come to his camp, and represented to them, that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man; and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them. After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cæsar this answer: * That they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: That it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their side: That the two heads of those parties were equally the protectors of their city; and at the same time its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to assist, nor receive the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They (g) suffered a long siege, in which they shewed all possible valour; but at length, the extreme necessity, to which they were reduced by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not refuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have believed myself wanting in some measure to the glory of the French nation, and to that of a city which holds one of the highest ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which besides comes into my plan, and is part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made

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(g) Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. ii.

* Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui judicii, neque suarum virium discernere utra pars justiore habeat causam: principes vero earum esse partium Cn. Pompeium, & C. Cæs-

sarem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis parem se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, & neutrum eorum contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portibus recipere.

me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

SECT. III. *ANDRISCUS, who gave himself out for the son of PERSEUS, makes himself master of Macedonia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. The prætor JUVENTIUS attacks him, and is killed in the battle with part of his army. METELLUS, who succeeds him, retrieves that loss. The usurper is overthrown, taken, and sent to Rome. A second and third usurper are also defeated.*

A. M. ^{3852.}
Ant. J. C. ^{152.} **F**IFTEEN or sixteen years (*a*) after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriscus of Adramytta, a city of Troas, in Asia minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramytta, that in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans, some shoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perseus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramytta, till he was twelve years of age, and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the secret to his wife, and entrusted her with a writing, signed by Perseus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said; which writing she was to deliver to him (Philip) as soon as he should attain to years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him

(*a*) Epiton. Liv. l. xlviii.---l. Zonar. ex Dione, l. i. c. 11. Florus, l. ii. c. 24.

him at the appointed time ; pressing him to quit the country, before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw that all continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took the advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, who entered into his views, for the sake of delivering themselves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

The affair then began to seem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither, and appease this tumult in its birth, deeming him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion ; and, if he should find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wisdom, and executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, he gave the senate advice of them ; and, without loss of time, visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defence of Thessaly. The

Achæans, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

A. M. 3856. However, it was well known at Rome from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a speedy support. Ant. J. C. 48. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andriscus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elate with this success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations, without any moderation or reserve; as if the being truly a king consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct, but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscations of estates, and murders. Taking the advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at war with the Romans, very much augmented his courage.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had succeeded Juventius. Andriscus had resolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor soon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andriscus gained an advantage sufficiently considerable in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriscus, believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a
great

great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take the advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beat, and Andriscus obliged to fly. He retired amongst the Thracians, from whom he returned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He had above five-and-twenty thousand men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to seize Andriscus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that the means to their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans: Andriscus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Perseus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus: He retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at this time Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again, and set himself up as the son of Perseus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterward surnamed *Scrofa*, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, *ut Scrofa Porcos*.

SECT. IV. *Troubles in Achaia; which declares war against the Lacedæmonians.* METELLUS sends deputies to Corinth to appease those troubles; they are ill used and insulted. METELLUS, after having exhorted them ineffectually to peace, gives them battle, and defeats them. The consul MUMMIUS succeeds him, and after having gained a battle, takes Corinth, sets it on fire, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and death of POLYBIUS. Triumphs of METELLUS and MUMMIUS.

A. M. 3857.
Ant. J. C. 147.
METELLUS, (a) after having pacified Macedonia, continued there some time. Great commotions had arose amongst the Achæans of the league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of those who held the first offices. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achæans, had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might cease, till the arrival of the commissioners from Rome, who were appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diæus, who succeeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Læconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission.) The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and for that end, to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea

(a) Pausan. in Achaic. p. 421---428. Polyb. Legat. cxliii, cxliv. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. p. 181---189. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

Trachæa near mount Oeta, and Orchomenos of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence, that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia; but instructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counsels, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans; a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met on their way a deputy sent by the seditious to Rome: They carried him back with them to Egium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and kindness. They did not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment of the commissioners, or excused it better than the Achæans themselves would have done; and were as reserved in regard to the cities they had been for separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting them not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any farther; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly. But Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flame of discord; insinuating, that the lenity of the Romans
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proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several engagements, and from the fear they were in, lest the Achæan league should declare against them.

The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficient deference. They were told, that Thearidas should be sent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegæa *, to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to suspend all hostilities, till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their measures in such a manner, that nobody, except that magistrate, went to the congress; and he did not arrive there, till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not come into any measures. He said, that he was not empowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be summoned in less than six months. That bad stratagem, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Julius. After having dismissed the Lacedæmonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedæmonians in the conferences held at Tegæa, but, in fact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had done, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aversion, which he himself had against them; and he only succeeded too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning any Achæan for debt, till the conclusion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, whatever he said had

* *A city on the banks of the Eurotas.*

had all the effect he desired, and disposed the multitude to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming right judgments of the future, they suffered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

Metellus, having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themselves, by imprudent rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers rose about them, and insulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantick than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded, that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus, seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, enflamed them against the magistrates, who did not enter into his views; flew out against the ambassadors themselves; animated them against the Romans; and gave them to understand, that it was not without previous good measures he had undertaken to make head against the Romans; that he had kings in his party; and that the republicks were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedæmonians, and, in consequence, indirectly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon, to observe the motions of the enemy; another set out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered into his measures, and engaged the Bœotians to
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join their arms with those of the Achæans; they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power; so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

A. M.

3858.

Ant. J. C.

146.

The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new ambassadors to the Achæans, with promises, that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent, that certain cities, which had been proposed before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphæa in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than a thousand prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed, that in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to fourteen thousand foot, and six hundred horse. He gave orders besides, for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves: Others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they had no thoughts of taking the only measures that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before mentioned, fell in with a thousand Arcadians in Bœotia, near Cheronæa,

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who were endeavouring to return into their own country; these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houses should be spared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners, or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miseries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Mægara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their side, were equally desirous of seeing a period of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, the faction of Diæus disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not seen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflicted upon Solocrates, who talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition, when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival; and lest another should have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced-guard being negligent of duty upon their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and pursued the rest almost to the entrance of their camp. This small advantage very much encouraged the Achæans,

Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the consul battle. The latter, to augment his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæans rose to an inexpressible height. They advanced furiously with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them, to be laden with the booty they should take from the enemy; so fully did they assure themselves of the victory.

Never was there a more rash or ill-founded confidence. The faction had removed from the service and counsels all such as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting affairs, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order to their being more absolutely masters of the government, and ruling without opposition. The chief, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantick rage. They had already committed an excess of folly in hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate; without necessity, instead of thinking of a long and brave defence in so strong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near * Leucopetra, and the defile of the isthmus. The consul had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time, for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, surprized by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more resistance; but as it was neither covered nor sustained by the horse, it was soon broke and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held it some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to his despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis his country; and
having

* This place is not known.

having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and in that manner put an end to his life, worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hope of defending themselves. As they found they were without counsel, leaders, courage, or views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wrecks of the army, in order to make any farther resistance, and oblige the victor to grant them some supportable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to save themselves where they could. The consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were left in it, were put to the sword, and the women and children sold; and after the statues, paintings, and richest moveables, were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for several days. From that time the Corinthian brass became more famous than ever, though it had been in reputation long before. It is pretended, that the gold; silver, and brass, which was melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished, and razed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the same year Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans, nine hundred and fifty-two years after its foundation by Aletes, the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was necessary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the publick calamities,

mities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed, and universally dismayed the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were also punished by the demolition of their walls, and by being disarmed. The ten commissioners sent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul, abolished popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the publick funds. In other respects, they were left in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia; because, at the taking Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful people of Greece; the Roman people sent a prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to shew that example of severity, in order to deter others, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining the Roman people's pardon for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation of that city, where such as revolted might canton themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. * Cicero, who did not disapprove of Carthage and Numantia's being used in that manner, could have wished that Corinth had been spared.

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable

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* Majores nostri——Carthaginem & Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maxi-

mè, ne possent aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari. *Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 35.*

rable sums raised from it. Amongst the paintings there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated * hand in Greece, (a) representing Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon observe, had the mortification to see that painting serve the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale made of the booty, for six hundred thousand sesterces, that is, about three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the same painter's, which the same Attalus purchased for an hundred talents, or an hundred thousand crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus*. Nevertheless these sums seem repugnant to probability. However it were, the consul, surprized that the price of the painting in question should rise so high, interposed his authority, and retained it contrary to publick faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He † did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with the view of appropriating it to himself, as he sent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. In doing which, says Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially, than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the advan-

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tage

(a) Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38. & l. xxxv. c. 4. & 10.

* This painter was called *Aristides*. The picture mentioned here, was in such estimation, that it was commonly said, All paintings are nothing in comparison to the Bacchus.

† Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cum copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam

ornare, quam domum suam, maluit. Quanquam Italia ornata, domus ipsa mihi videtur ornatio. Laus abstinentiæ non hominis est solum, sed etiam temporum—— Habere quæstui remp. non modo turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam & nefarium. Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 76, 77.

rage of office and command for enriching a man's self, was not only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse. The painting we speak of, was set up in the temple of Ceres, whither the judges went to see it out of curiosity, as a master-piece of art; and it remained there till it was burnt with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and an excellent man, but had neither learning, knowledge of arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture; the merit of which he did not distinguish; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in those arts gave them their value. This he fully explained upon the present occasion. * He had ordered persons to take care of transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most excellent masters to Rome. Never had loss been so irreparable, as that of such a deposit, consisting of the master-pieces of those rare artists, who contributed, almost as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to posterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened them very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other things, with which he charged them, should be either lost, or spoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian, who has preserved us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted; and would not such a grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the publick good, to the exceeding delicacy of taste of the present age for such sort of rarities? He spoke at a time when that taste for excellent paintings amongst the magistrates,

was

* Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut capta Corintho, cum maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portendas locaret, juberet prædici condncentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eas reddituras. Non tamen

puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republica fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quam in tantam ea intelligi; & quin hac prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit conuenientior. *Vell. Paterc. l. i. n. 13.*

was the occasion of their committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, on returning into Peloponnesus, had the affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any (*a*) thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his master, in the science of war. I have already observed, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to have the statues, erected to that hero, taken down, had the imprudence to prosecute him criminally, as if he had been still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. That accusation was extravagant, but had some colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopœmen as the greatest captain Greece had produced in the latter times; that he might, perhaps, have carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the Roman people considerable services upon several occasions; as in their wars against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commissioners before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his gratitude for his master, decreed, that the statues of Philopœmen should continue as they were in all places. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal Polybius had expressed upon this occasion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a statue of marble to himself.

He gave at the same time a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour amongst his

F f 2

citizens,

citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult done to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of Diæus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commissioners ordered the quæstor who sold them, to let Polybius take whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refused that offer, as advantageous as it appeared, and should have thought himself in some measure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he excepted any part of his fortune; beside which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself out of the spoils of his fellow-citizen. He would not only accept nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire any thing of what had appertained to Diæus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This action made the commissioners (*b*) conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving Greece, they desired him to go to all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much goodness, justice, and prudence, that no farther contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of particulars. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription; *That Greece had been guilty of no errors, if she had hearkened from the first to the counsels of Polybius; but, that after her faults, he alone had been her deliverer.*

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there

(*b*) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c.

there (c) the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two years, of a wound he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king Andriſcus, was led before his chariot. Amongst the spoils, he caused what was called the troop of Alexander the Great, to be carried in the procession. That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost five-and-twenty of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make each of them an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph, and, in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in his triumphs, which were afterwards made the ornaments of the publick buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

SECT. V. *Reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, declension, and ruin of Greece.*

AFTER having seen the final ruin of Greece, which has supplied us through a series of so many ages with such fine examples of heroick virtues and memorable events, we may be admitted to return to the place from whence we began, and consider, by way of abridgment, and at one view, the rise, progress, and declension of the principal states, that compose it. Their whole duration may be divided into four ages.

(c) Lucian. in Macrob. p. 142.

The first and second ages of Greece.

I shall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war, which make the first age, and may be called the infancy of Greece.

The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy, to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth. In those early years it formed, fortified, and prepared itself for those great things it was afterwards to act, and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsieur (a) Bossuet observes, who had naturally abundance of wit, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who settling in several parts of the country, spread universally the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learnt the exercises of the body, wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot-races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, in effect of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympick games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be formed by laws for the good of the publick. They were not private persons, who regard nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state, but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is involved in them: The Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle, to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, instituted thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves, and
most

most of the cities formed themselves into republicks, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle; but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and subservient to laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from transacting their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of its honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of private persons, to which all returned when they quitted employments, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might soon be deprived; whereas power often becomes haughty, unjust, and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and passions, which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of lands and of arts, and not excluding the husbandman or the artist from the first dignities of the state; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not ashamed of the most common functions either in the armies by land or sea.

The reigning character in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, the means of fortune, simplicity in buildings, moveables, dress, equipage, domesticks, and table. It is surprizing to consider the small retributions with which they were satisfied for their application in publick employments, and services rendered the state.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and indued from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to exalt the soul, and to inspire it with great and noble sentiments? The effects exceeded all idea, and all hope that could possibly have been conceived of them.

The third age of Greece.

We now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admiration of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, shut up within the compass of their cities, had but faintly dawned, and shone with but a feeble ray till this age. To produce and place them in their full light, some great and important occasion was necessary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled in some measure to quit her home, and to shew herself abroad in open day such as she was. And this was supplied by the Persians in their invasions of Greece, first under Darius, and afterwards under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force of the East, overflowed on a sudden, like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops, both by sea and land, against a little spot of Greece, which seemed under the necessity of being entirely swallowed up and overwhelmed at the first shock. Two small cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only resist those formidable armies, but attack, defeat, pursue, and destroy the greatest part of them. Let the reader call to mind, which is all I have here in view, the prodigies of valour and fortitude, which shone out at that time, and continued to do so long after on like occasions. To what were the Greeks indebted for such astonishing successes, so much above all probability, unless to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice; and were become by long habit a second nature in them?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, attention to the publick good, desire of glory, love of their country; but above all, such a zeal for liberty, which no danger was capable of intimidating, and such an irreconcilable abhorrence for whoever conceived the least thought against it, as
 united

united their counsels, and put an end to all diffention and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republicks as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty ; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies, and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves, or of making conquests, at the expence of each other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from, their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable possession of their territory, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republicks and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independance, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and usages derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they take, we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of their government ; and we are tempted to demand of ourselves, from whence could arise this greatness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens ; whence those noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in politicks, this profound and universal knowledge in the art of war, whether for the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or the drawing up and disposing all the motions of an army in battle ; add to this, that supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a solemn treaty ?

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter, immediately after their conquests, suffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had submitted

to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered its conquerors by riches and voluptuousness; and that change of manners was very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was more so with the Greeks. Nothing was more exalted than the victories they had gained over the Persians; nothing more soothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illustrious exploits. After so glorious a period, the Greeks long persevered in the same love of simplicity, frugality, and poverty; the same remoteness from pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the islands and provinces of Asia minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleasures and luxury: They, however, never suffered themselves to be infected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of conquered people. It is true, they did not make those countries provinces, but their commerce and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they were banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about fourscore years after the battle of Salamin, and the ancient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece; which did not grow weak and degenerate, but slowly and by degrees. This is what it remains to shew.

The fourth age of Greece.

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks, was the disunion which rose up amongst themselves. The Persians, who had found them invincible on the side of arms, as long as their union subsisted, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord amongst them. For

that reason they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, attacked invisibly in this manner by bribes secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest share in their governments, were divided by domestick jealousies, and turned their victorious arms against themselves, which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from these causes, gave Philip and Alexander opportunity to subject them. Those princes, to accustom them to servitude the more agreeable, coloured their design with avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks gave blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands which had conquered the universe, could never be removed; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, roused from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its ancient condition; but those efforts were ill concerted, and as ill sustained by its expiring liberty, and tended only to augment its slavery; because the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, soon made themselves its masters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived, that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, advantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself, and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their
ancient

ancient ideas. After having with great address made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states one after another, under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it, under the name of Achaia.

It did not lose with its power (*b*) that ardent passion for liberty, which was its peculiar character. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla (*c*), who punished them so cruelly sixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty, who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey, (*d*) who fought for the republick. Julius Cæsar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Anthony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which themselves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the center and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and by its example opened schools which became very famous. Rome, all haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed

(*b*) Strab. l. ix.
p. 191. & l. xlvii. p. 339.

(*c*) Plut. in Sylla,

(*d*) Diod. l. xliii.

structed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the knowledge of mathematicks, the science of natural things, the rules of manners and duties, the art of reasoning with justice and method: All the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greatest subjects with propriety, force, elegance, and perspicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted something, and did not blush to become the disciple of the great masters Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in passing Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers, who taught there with great reputation, and to make himself in some measure their disciple.

Nothing shews better the respect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of Pliny (e) the younger. He writes in this manner to Maximus appointed governor of that province by Trajan.

“ Call to mind, my dear Maximus, that you are going
 “ into Achaia, the true Greece, the same Greece
 “ where learning and the polite arts had their birth;
 “ where even agriculture was invented, according to
 “ the common opinion. Remember, that you are
 “ sent to govern free cities and free men, if ever any
 “ such there were; who by their virtues, actions, al-
 “ liances, treaties, and religion, have known how to
 “ preserve the liberty they received from nature.
 “ Revere the gods their founders; respect their he-
 “ roes, the ancient glory of their nation, and the fa-
 “ cred antiquity of their cities, the dignity, great ex-
 “ ploits, and even fables and vanity of that people.
 “ Remember, it is from those sources that we have
 “ derived our law; that we did not impose our laws
 “ upon them, after we had conquered them, but that
 “ they gave us theirs, at our request, before they were
 “ acquainted with the power of our arms. In a word,
 “ it is to Athens you are going; it is at Lacedæmon
 “ you are to command. It would be inhuman and
 “ bar-

“ barbarous to deprive them of that faint image, that shadow which they retain of their ancient liberty.”

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was resorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Johannes Chrysostom, went to Athens, to imbibe, as at their source, all the profane sciences. The emperors themselves (*f*), who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the most celebrated philosophers into their palaces, in order to their being intrusted with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole East, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest, all those nations to receive her language and adopt her customs: A testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority, than that not founded in merit, but solely upon the force of arms. Plutarch observes somewhere, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek, was in no great estimation.

ARTICLE III.

IT seems, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of
Egypt

(*f*) Tit. Antonius, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

Egypt and Syria, should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which several kings not only succeed one another in a short space, but sometimes reign jointly, and, at the same time, to the number of three or four, which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, succession, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This small chronological abridgment may contribute to cast some light upon facts, which are exceedingly complex, and serve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clear-sighted will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be passed over, and recourse be only had to it, when it is necessary to be set right: I insert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of an hundred years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne; that is, from the year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty-five, to three thousand nine hundred and forty-six.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article, contains almost the space of an hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is, from the year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty, to the year three thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine.

SECT. I. *A chronological abridgment of the history of the king*

KINGS OF EGYPT.

A.M. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. He reigned something
3824. more than thirty-four years. This article contains
only fourteen years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his brother
Evergetes, or Physcon.

3859. PTOLEMY EVERGETES, otherwise called Physcon,
brother of Philometor, ascends the throne, and mar-
ries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.

of Egypt and Syria, as mentioned in the third article.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, aged nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years. A. M. 3840.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, son of Seleucus Philopator, having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne. 3842.

Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans. 3851.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned twelve years.

ALEXANDER BALA. He reigns almost five years. Ptolemæus Philometor declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter. 3859.

DEMETRIUS NICATOR.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seizes part of the kingdom. 3859.
3860.

DIODOTES TRYPHON, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, ascends the throne. 3861.

Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner, and confine him. He had reigned seven years.

3863.

A. M. Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her
3874. daughter, named also Cleopatra.

He is reduced to fly. The Alexandrians restore the
government to Cleopatra his first wife.

3877. Physcon re-ascends the throne.

3887. Death of Physcon. He had reigned twenty-nine
years.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, A. M.
brother of Demetrius, after 3864.
having overthrown Tryphon,
and put him to death, is declared king.
Cleopatra, Demetrius's wife,
marries him.

Antiochus Sidetes marches against the Parthians. 3873.

The Parthians send back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is slain. 3874.

Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.

Demetrius is killed by Zebina.

Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.

SELEUCUS V. eldest son of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra.

ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.

ALEXANDER ZEBINA, 3877.
supported by Physcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed soon after.

3880.

3881.

Zebina is overthrown by Grypus, and dies soon after. 3882.

Cleopatra designs to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.

3884.

KINGS OF EGYPT.

A. M. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS, or SOTER, succeeds
3887. Physcon.

Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldest sister, and marry Selena, his youngest sister.

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son.

3897. Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt: He had reigned ten years. She sets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.

3903. She gives her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

ANTIOCHUS, THE CY- A. M.
ZICENIAN, son of Cleo- 3890.
patra and Antiochus Si-
detes, takes arms against
Grypus.

Cleopatra, whom La- 3891.
thyus had been obliged
to repudiate, marries the
Cyzicenean. She is killed
by the order of Tryphena,
wife of Grypus.

The Cyzicenean gains 3892.
a victory over Grypus,
and drives him out of
Syria.

The two brothers are 3893.
reconciled, and divide the
empire of Syria.

Cleopatra gives her 3903.
daughter Selena to An-
tiochus Grypus.

Death of Grypus. He 3907.
years. had reigned twenty-seven

SELEUCUS, his son, succeeds him.

Antiochus the Cyzice- 3913.
nian, is overthrown, and
put to death.

A. M.

3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.

3916. Alexander is expelled himself: He had reigned nineteen years. He died soon after. LATHYRUS is recalled.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.

ANTIOCHUS XI. brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes.

PHILIP, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him.

DEMETRIUS EUCARES, fourth son of Grypus, is established upon the throne at Damascus, by the assistance of Lathyrus.

Demetrius, having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, fifth son of Grypus, is placed upon the throne of Damascus, and is killed the following year.

ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES, A. M. son of the Cyzicenean, 3911. causes himself to be declared king.

Eusebes marries Selena, widow of Grypus.

3912.

3913.

3914.

Eusebes, overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongst the Parthians.

He is re-established upon the throne by their means.

A. M.

3923. Death of Lathyrus.

ALEXANDER II. son of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleopatra, called otherwise Berenice, and kills her seventeen days after. He reigned fifteen years.

The Alexandrians expel Alexander.

3939. PTOLEMY AULETES, bastard son of Lathyrus, is placed upon the throne.

KINGS OF SYRIA.

The Syrians, weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect TIGRANES KING OF ARMENIA. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years.

A.M.
3921.

Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. 3923.

Selena, his wife, retains part of Phœnicia and Cœlosyria, and gives her two sons a good education.

Tygranes recalls Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there fourteen years in his name.

Syria, being unprovided with troops, ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS, son of Antiochus Eusebes, takes possession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years. 3935.

Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The house of the Seleucides is extinct with him. 3939.

SECT. II. ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, *aged nineteen, succeeds his father ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES in the kingdom of Syria. DEMETRIUS, who had been long an hostage at Rome, demands in vain to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of JUDAS MACCABÆUS against the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himself in person. Long differences between the two PTOLEMIES, brothers, and kings of Egypt, terminated at length by an happy peace.*

WE have long lost sight of the * history of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which have generally no small connexion with each other. I am now going to resume the thread of them, which will not be interrupted any more.

A. M. 3840.
Ant. J. C. 164.
Antiochus, surnamed Eupator (*a*), aged only nineteen, succeeded his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. The latter, at his death, sent for Philip his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all the other marks of the royal dignity, into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner, as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had usurped the employment, which the late king had confided to him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship, the reins of the government, without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well, that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding, at that court, the assistance he wanted for the re-

(*a*) Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. & x. 10---13. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

* It is treated last towards the end of Book XVIII. Article II. Sect. II, and III.

possession of his right, and the expulsion of the usurper.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœlosyria and Palestine, from the enemy he had been till then to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the scripture says, with the crying injustice which had been committed in regard to them. He put a stop to the rigour of the persecution against them, and employed his whole credit to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to hurt him. They prejudiced the king against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who had entrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his service. For, how advantageous soever the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length, they did so much by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lyfias; no other post or pension being conferred on him to support his dignity. He had not force of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poisoned himself; an end he had well deserved for his treason, and share in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabæus (*b*) at this time signalized his valour by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually made an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels desirous of throwing off its yoke, and had great interest in making so powerful a neighbouring people submit to it, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's

(*b*) 1 Maccab. v. 1---68. 2 Maccab. x. 14---38.

prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in liberty of conscience, with regard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria in regard to the Jews.

A. M. Demetrius, (c) son of Seleucus Philopator, who, from the year his father died, had remained an hostage at Rome, was in his twenty-third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the son of Epiphanes's eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his re-establishment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he represented, that having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The senate had more regard for the interests of the republick than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans, that there should be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. The same ambassadors had instructions to accommodate, if possible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.

Lyfias (d), terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabæus, formed an army of fourscore thousand foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with fourscore elephants: At the head of all these forces he marched into Judæa, with the resolution to settle strange inhabitants that worshipped idols in Jerusalem. He opened the campaign with the siege of Beth-

(c) Polyb. Legat. cvii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. (d) 2 Maccab. ix. 1---38. x. 1---7. xiii. 1---24. 1 Maccab. v. 65---68. vi. 19---63. Joseph. Antiq. c. xii.

Bethsura, a fortress between Idumæa and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabæus, and the whole people, beseeched the Lord, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in God, they took the field. When they marched all together, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem, there * appeared a horseman marching before them. His habit was white, with arms of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thousand six hundred men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without arms.

After this check, Lyfias (*e*), weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the scripture says, *believing the Jews invincible, when supported by the aid of the almighty God*, made a treaty with Judas and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of this peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the Jews to leave them long in repose. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assembled all his forces, and raised an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, without including the horse, which amounted to five-and-twenty thousand. Judas, full of confidence in the God of armies, marched against him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus lost thirty thousand men in this battle, and saved himself with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the side of Judas, which proved, that God alone is the source of valour, intrepidity, and success in war. He shewed this in the most sensible manner, by the evi-

(*e*) 2 Maccab. xi. 13.

* *It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, protector of the people of God.*

dent and singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of an hundred thousand foot, with twenty thousand horse; two-and-thirty elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in person, with Lysias the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the head of it, and entered Judæa. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of God, the creator of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the last drop of their blood, marched and posted himself in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, THE VICTORY OF GOD, he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them, in the night, attacked the king's quarters. They killed four thousand men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confusion and dismay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He resolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle; in which the Jews killed a great number of the enemy. Eleazer, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve the people, and to acquire immortal fame. He forced his way boldly to the elephant through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all that opposed him. Then placing himself under the beast's belly, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death underneath it.

Judas, however, and his troops, fought with extraordinary resolution. But at length, exhausted by the fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they chose to retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortress of Bethsura.

That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would, like them, have been obliged to surrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding assistance there against Lyfias. But the divisions which arose between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the East, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence upon his expedition against Judæa, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lyfias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. The peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the sight of which he was so much terrified, that, contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn in regard to the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after to his life.

The troubles (*f*) occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Evergetes, had already expelled

A. M.

3842.

Ant. J. C.

162.

(*f*) Porphyr. in Cr. Euf. Scalig. p. 60, & 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. cxiii. Epit. Liv. l. xlvi.

pelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundisium. From thence he went the rest of the way to Rome on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still an hostage at Rome, was apprized of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found him twenty-six miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues distance from Rome. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had wore till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design, by all these circumstances, was to express the misery he was reduced to the better, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to desire he would come to them; and to excuse their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank. They assured him, that it was neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprized them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprized of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth; and orders were given to the quaestors and treasurers, to see him

him served and supplied, at the expence of the publick, with all things necessary during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him; and deputed two of the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They re-conducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Physcon: Philometor had Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been with the generality of princes no more than simple ceremonies and mere forms, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. He demanded, that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to the possession of the isle of Cyprus. He alledged, that he had been forced, by the necessity of the times, to comply with the former proposals, and that, though Cyprus should be granted him, his part would still be far from equal to his brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother; that he had made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother snatched him from their resentment, by making himself mediator. That at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him; and that

both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had negotiated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The senate, seeing that the partition was not actually equal, artfully took the advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For such was then the policy of the Romans. Polybius makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with so much address, that whilst they acted solely from their own interest, the contending parties were however obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend, it would become too formidable if it fell into the hands of one sovereign, who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and whose interest in that view it was, that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, supported the demand of Physcon with his whole credit. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to put him into possession of it.

During (g) that prince's stay at Rome, he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya, with Physcon.

Physcon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and to

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bring

bring them into an accommodation by the method of treaty, according to the senate's instructions. Philometor did not explain himself openly at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, with design of making use of the time in taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time (*b*), informed of the ill conduct of Physcon during his being possessed of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted, but Philometor had taken pains underhand to excite those troubles. Physcon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors back to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate, and to solicit their protection. The senate, offended at Philometor's refusal to evacuate the island of Cyprus, according to their decree, declared the amity and alliance between him and the Romans void, and ordered his ambassadors to quit Rome in five days.

Physcon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenaica, but made himself so generally hated by his subjects, through his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him, and wounded him in several places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He ascribed this to his brother Philometor; and when he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints against him to the senate, shewed the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. Though Philometor was the most humane of all princes, and could not be the least suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the

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senate,

(*b*) Polyb. Legat. cxxxii. Id. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 334.

A. M.
3843.
Ant. J. C.
161.

senate, who were angry at his refusal to submit to the regulation they had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false accusation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high against him, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in his defence. Orders were sent them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which, the senate appointed five commissioners to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, and to put him into possession of that island, and wrote to all their allies near it to aid him for that purpose with all their troops.

A. M. 3847.
Ant. J. C. 157. Physcon, by this means, with an army which seemed to him sufficient for the execution of his design, landed in the island. Philometor, who had gone thither in person, beat him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, where he was soon invested; besieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of a brother he had so cruelly injured. Philometor's exceeding goodness appeared upon this occasion. After all that Physcon had done against him, it was expected, that having him in his power, he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He pardoned him every thing; and, not contented to forgive him his faults, he even restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added farther some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed, and the Romans were ashamed of opposing any longer a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader, who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments which rise from nature, and prevent reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

SECT. III. OCTAVIUS, *ambassador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there. DEMETRIUS escapes from Rome, puts EUPATOR to death, ascends the throne of Syria, and assumes the name of SOTER. He makes war against the Jews. Repeated victories of JUDAS MACCABÆUS: Death of that great man. DEMETRIUS is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himself to drunkenness and debauchery. ALEXANDER BALA forms a conspiracy against him. DEMETRIUS is killed in a battle. ALEXANDER espouses the daughter of PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. Temple built by the Jews in Egypt. DEMETRIUS, son of the first of that name, sets up his claim to the throne of Syria. ALEXANDER is destroyed. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR dies at the same time.*

WE have (a) seen that the principal object of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Sipylus. They caused the ships to be burnt, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and disposed all things else in such a manner as they thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person, named Leptinus, was so incensed at it, that in rage he fell upon * Octavius, whilst he was bathing, and killed him. It was suspected that Lysias, the regent of the kingdom, had secretly a hand in this assassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent

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162.

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to

(a) Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. cxiv, & cxxii. Cicer. Philip. ix. n. 4, 5. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

* This Octavius had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who had attained that honour. Cic. Philip. ix. n. 4. — well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered.

to Rome, to justify the king, and to protest, that he had no share in the action. The senate sent them back without giving them any answer, to signify, by that silence, their indignation for the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, of which they reserved the examination and punishment to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him amongst those of the great men, who had lost their lives in defence of their country.

Demetrius believed, that the disgust of the Romans against Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest part of his friends, who advised him to make his escape, without saying any thing. The event soon shewed him how much they were in the right. As the senate had always the same motives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he received the same answer, and had the mortification of a second denial. He had then recourse to the first advice of his friends; and Polybius, the historian, who was at Rome, was one of those who pressed him with the utmost warmth to put it in immediate execution with secrecy. He took his advice. After concerting all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of an hunting-match, went to Ostia, and embarked with a small train in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre that waited for him *. It was three days before it was known at Rome, that he had stolen away. All that the senate could do, was some days after to send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius (b) having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a
report

(b) 1 Maccab. vii, viii, ix. & 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii, xiii. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

* That ship carried to Tyre, according to custom, the first-fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.

report spread, that the senate had sent him to take possession of his dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and all the world abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lyfias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius saw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer, of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that from thenceforth they gave their deliverer the title of SOTER, or SAVIOUR, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high-priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being qualified to be admitted by them in that capacity, because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood, by following the impious customs of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes; this man gathered together all the apostate Jews, who had taken refuge at Antioch, after having been expelled Judæa, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers, advancing a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons that fell into their hands of Demetrius's party, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchis, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army,

and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchis, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did of a second, commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and that an handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence with regard to victory in the protection of the God of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thousand blasphemies against the Almighty, and against his temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas gave him a bloody battle, and of his army of thirty-five thousand men, not one escaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple when he threatened to destroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able reasonably to rely upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring people, who, far from interesting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish nation, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them in concert with the Syrians. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for their justice and valour, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. It was therefore he thought it necessary to make an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprizes of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius,
by

by which he was enjoined not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened him, in case he persevered to do so. But before the ambassadors returned, Judas was dead.

As soon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchis and Alcimus, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judæa. Judas had only three thousand men with him when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panick, that they all abandoned him, except eight hundred men. Judas, with that small number, through an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle with so numerous an army, in which he perished, overpowered by multitude. His loss was deplored throughout all Judæa and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the most lively affliction, and the government put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences against the true Israelites, and Bacchis being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harrassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had undoubtedly received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recall Bacchis.

Demetrius (c) indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice, that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negotiation. Finding, at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success in it, he sent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them, that he would conform

A. M.
3844.
Ant. J. C.
162.

form entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations, obtained at length by their means what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown.

A. M. To cultivate their amity (*d*), he sent the same
 3845. Ant. J. C. Menochares the following year, in conjunction with
 159. some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed ten thousand pieces * of gold, as a present from him to the senate, in gratitude for their good treatment of him, during his being an hostage at Rome. They carried also with them Leptinus and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon the account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptinus was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had, upon all occasions, taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, objects unworthy of their anger; reserving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude in regard to his benefactor.

A. M. Demetrius, (*e*) who found himself without war or
 3850. occupation, began to give into pleasure, and to lead
 Ant. J. C. an idle life, not a little singular and fantastick in the
 154. manner of it. He caused a castle to be built, near Antioch, flanked with four good towers, and shut himself

(*d*) Polyb. Legat. cxxii. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. xxv.
 (*e*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

* They were worth more than ten thousand pistoles.

himself up in it, for the sake of abandoning himself entirely on the one side to indolence, not being willing to hear any more of affairs, and, on the other, to the pleasure of good cheer and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials, which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administered; the affairs of the state languished; in a word, there was a general suspension of government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Holophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the crown if the enterprize succeeded. It was discovered, and Holophernes put in prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had some pretensions.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was not suppressed (*f*). The malcontents were supported underhand by Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart, and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who meditated revenging themselves for the war Demetrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holophernes. Those three princes concerted together to employ Heraclides in preparing somebody to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary pretensions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have said already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon, at the same time Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's coming to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other having made his escape, had taken up his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains
to

(*f*) Polyb. Legat. cxxxviii, & cxi. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1---50.

to form the man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man, named Bala, of mean extraction, but very proper to act the part given him. He modelled him, and instructed him fully in all that it was necessary to say or do.

A. M. 3851.
Ant. J. C. 153. When he was fully prepared, he began by causing him to be acknowledged by the three kings in the secret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all which was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing desired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty to raise troops. He then seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine, and there, under the name of Alexander, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the malcontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to bring him over to his side. He

made him high-priest, granted him the title of *Friend of the king*, sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still outbid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had had the true interest of the Jews at heart, and the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-priesthood from him, and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of the tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he disposed of at pleasure.

The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good sense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having, besides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved himself, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deserted also, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to their security in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend of his in that city; in order if any accident should happen, that they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture.

A. M.
3852.
Ant. J. C.
152.

A. M. It was at the same time, and perhaps in imitation
 3853. of Alexander Bala, that Andriscus played the same
 Ant. J. C. part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius,
 151. who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope
 of conciliating their favour.

A. M. The two competitors for the crown of Syria having
 3854. assembled all their troops, proceeded to a decisive bat-
 Ant. J. C. tle. At first Demetrius's left wing broke that of the
 150. enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But
 being too hot in the pursuit, a common fault in bat-
 tles, and which almost always occasions their being
 lost, at their return they found the right, at the head
 of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the
 king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had
 been in a condition to support the enemy's charge, he
 had omitted nothing that valour and conduct were ca-
 pable of, which might conduce to his success. At
 length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his
 horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued
 him, killed him with their arrows. He had reigned
 twelve years. Alexander, by this victory, found him-
 self master of the empire of Syria.

As soon as (g) Alexander saw himself at repose, he
 sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy,
 king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him,
 and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais,
 where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was in-
 vited to that feast, and went thither, where he was re-
 ceived by the two kings with all possible marks of
 honour.

Onias, son of Onias III. having (b) been disap-
 pointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his
 uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had
 found means to insinuate himself so well into the fa-
 vour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife,
 that he was become their favourite, and most intimate
 confident. He made use of his credit at that court
 to obtain the king's permission for building a temple
 for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; as-
 suring

(g) 1 Maccab. x. 51---66.

(b) Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii.

furing him that favour would bring the whole nation into his party against Antiochus Epiphanes: At the same time the high-priesthood there was granted to him and his descendants for ever. The great difficulty was, to make the Jews come into this innovation; it being forbid by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. It was not without difficulty he overcame their repugnance, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretells this event in these terms (i): *In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts; the one shall be called the city of destruction.* (M. Rollin says, the city of the sun, or Heliopolis.) *In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall find them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and shall do sacrifice and oblation, yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it.*

The event here foretold by Isaiah, is one of the most singular, and, at the same time, the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews, than to offer sacrifices to God, in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; how much more, in consequence, to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, and always at enmity with the people of God? This however came to pass, exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

Alexander Bala (k), finding himself in the peace-
A. M.
 able ^{3856.}
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 148.

(i) Isa. xix. 18---21.
 c. 2. Jos. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67---89. Diod. in
 Excerpt. Valef. p. 346.

(k) Liv. Epit. lib. l. Justin. l. xxxv.

able possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself therefore to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauch. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite, named Ammonius. That insolent and cruel minister put to death Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia; Antigonus, Demetrius's son, who continued in Syria when the two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the blood-royal he could find, in order to secure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius's sons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of counsel and action. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion favourable for repossessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of malcontents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his seraglio to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army formed of all the troops he could assemble, and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Coelosyria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius's first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who persisted in his attachment to Alexander: But his success did not answer his design, and in one day he lost above eight thousand men.

A. M. Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger wherein he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and

and entered Palestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect: Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival, a conspiracy was discovered, formed by Ammonius against the life of Philometor. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and, in consequence, took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-ascending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to shew their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne. But that prince, assuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was beat, and fled with five hundred horse to * Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had entrusted his children. Betrayed by the person in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off, and sent to Ptolemy, who expressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration, for he died some few days after, of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory,

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I i

assumed

• He is called *Emalcuel* in the *Maccabees*.

assumed the surname of *Nicator*, that is to say, the Conqueror. The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties.

SECT. VI. *PHYSCON espouses CLEOPATRA, and ascends the throne of Egypt. DEMETRIUS in Syria abandons himself to all manner of excesses. DIODOTUS, surnamed TRYPHON, causes ANTIOCHUS, the son of ALEXANDER BALA, to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him, and takes his place. He seizes JONATHAN by treachery, and puts him to death. DEMETRIUS undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, who take him prisoner. CLEOPATRA his wife espouses ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, brother of DEMETRIUS, and places him upon the throne of Syria. PHYSCON's excessive follies and debauches. ATTALUS PHILOMETOR succeeds ATTALUS his uncle, whom he causes to be regretted by his vices. He dies himself, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions. ARISTONICUS seizes them. He is overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death.*

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CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to place (a) the crown upon the head of the son she had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon, king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of her defence, caused Onias and Dosithæus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed, that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. He had

(a) Joseph. contr. App. l. ii. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val-Max. l. ix. c. 1.

had no sooner married the queen, and taken possession of the crown, than, even the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the surname of Physcon, given to this prince, was only a nickname. That which he took himself was *Evergetes*, which signifies *the Benefactor*. The Alexandrians changed it into that of *Cacoergetes*, that is to say, on the contrary, *one who delights in doing harm*; a surname to which he had the justest title.

In Syria (*b*) affairs went on little better. Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left every thing to Lathenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria, to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of gaining them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria, who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for so barbarous a cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had been concerned against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished all that could be found with death. When he believed, after all these executions, that he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some other foreigners, in his service.

I i 2

By

(*b*) Died. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Macæab. ix. 20--37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

By that means he not only deprived himself of the old troops, who had served under his father, and being well-affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrections and revolutions which afterward happened.

Jonathan however, seeing every thing quiet in Judæa, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel, which the Grecian idolaters still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, on the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he not only caused the accusations, which had been formed against him, to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs and tributes, for the sum of * three hundred talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch (c), and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kind of excesses, violence, and cruelty, the people's patience was entirely exhausted, and the whole nation disposed for a general revolt.

Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antioch with Hierax, seeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempt-

(c) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39---74. xii. 21---34. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. lii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 346.

* Three hundred thousand crowns.

attempting an hardy enterprize, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by the favour of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been entrusted. He laid a state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and in particular of the soldiery, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, in order to his being restored to his rights. His view was to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus, till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown to himself, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not give into it at first. Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him, to solicit and press him. At length, between the force of importunity and presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem with vigour, but seeing that he made no progress, he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people conceived an invincible aversion for his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent him three thousand men immediately. As soon as the king had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly that they should all deliver up their arms. Upon this they rose, to the number of six-score thousand men, and invested the palace, with design to kill the king. The Jews immediately

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flew to disengage him, dispersed that multitude with fire and sword, burnt a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed very near an hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded a peace; which was granted them, and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge of the wrongs the people of Antioch had done to Judæa and Jerusalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country, laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius, always continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppressions, put many more persons to death for the last sedition, confiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such an hatred and animosity against him, that there wanted nothing but an occasion for rising, and making him experience the most dreadful effects of their vengeance.

Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better in regard to him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Though the sum of three hundred talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon carried Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who had been broke by Demetrius, and a great number of other malcontents, came in crouds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, beat him, and obliged him to retire to Seleucia. They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus

upon the throne of the kings of Syria, and gave him the surname of *Theos*, which signifies *the God*.

Jonathan, discontented at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother. A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Cœlosyria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemy.

Tryphon (e), seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and of possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his design, than on the other part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well, even to sound him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at whatever price it cost him, of so formidable an enemy, and entered Judæa with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethsan at the head of forty thousand men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he was come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was resolved to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship, and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except three thousand men, of which he kept only one thousand about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon that traitor's oath, that he should be put into possession of it. He had no sooner entered the place, than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was

(e) 1 Maccab. xii. 39---54. xiii. 1---30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. lv.

immediately seized, and all his followers put to the sword. Troops were also detached directly to follow and surprize the two thousand men, who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan and his troops, at the city of Ptolemais, and having exhorted one another to defend themselves well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and arrived all safe at Jerusalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews however did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, set themselves at work with all possible speed to complete the fortifications, began by Jonathan, at Jerusalem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded so well with Jonathan. He sent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arrest, because he owed the king an hundred talents (*f*) ; that if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostages for their father's fidelity, he would cause him to be set at liberty. Though Simon saw clearly, that this proposal was no more than a feint, however, that he might not have reason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his brother's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the money, and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithstanding, did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with design to put all things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his designs, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon,

(*f*) An hundred thousand crowns.

Tryphon, (*g*) on his return into winter-quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death; and believing after that he had nobody to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be given out, that he was dead of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Syria in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

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3861.
Ant. J. C.
143.

Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly it was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magnificent embassy, with a golden statue of Victory of ten thousand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inserted upon the inscription, as if it had come from him.

The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome (*b*) were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea (*i*), and abandoned himself to the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince, a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and imposts, with a general amnesty for all past acts of hostility; upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

A. M.
3863.
Ant. J. C.
141.

Deme-

(*g*) Diod. Legat. xxxi. (*b*) 1 Maccab. xiv. 16---40. (*i*) Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34---42. & xiv. 38---41. Joseph, Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

Demetrius at length (*k*) recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the East, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having almost over-ran the whole East, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to suffer that usurpation, and the haughty insolence of their new masters, extremely solicited Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their head; assured him of a general insurrection against the Parthians; and promised to supply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the East. Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived, that having once made himself master of the East, with that increase of power he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As soon as he appeared in the East, the Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour, and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in several engagements; but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow, the empire of the Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, and even equal to the Romans themselves as to power in the field, and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians, was Mithridates, son of Priapatius, a valiant and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Arsaces founded, and his son Arsaces II. established and fixed, this empire, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great.

(*k*) Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. l. xli. c. 5, & 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1---49. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9---12. Orosius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

Great. Priapatus was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him ; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference * to his own children, because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people ; convinced, that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state, than the advancement of his own family ; and to forget, in some measure, that he is a father, to remember solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having subdued the Medes, Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's ; and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia, so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the West, and the Ganges on the East.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces that still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by shewing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned him for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However, he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, though in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took
from

* Non multo post decessit, multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potissimum Mithridati; insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium : plus regio quam patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiusque patria quam liberis consulendum, *Justin.*

from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, and out of them composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard of, for a victor to be more intent upon improving from the wise customs of the conquered nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it incumbent on them to take the favourable advantage of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars, with which that empire was continually torn, to secure the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and the whole people at Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they had most essential obligations, and gave him the government with the title of sovereign, as well as that of high-priest: They declared this double power, civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

A. M. 3864. When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with

with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people for the success of his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession of the crown, he quitted an assumed character that laid him under too much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. Those desertions did not however sufficiently augment her party, to put her into a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should chuse rather to give her up to Tryphon, than support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces, and promised on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when she was informed, that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged, that she observed no measures any further, and resolved to seek her support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a precarious crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their right. As Antiochus therefore was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidos with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon (*l*), wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, of whom he promised

(*l*) Maccab. xv. 1---41. xvi. 1---10. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12, & 13.

mised a speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater, when he should ascend the throne.

A. M. Accordingly, the beginning of the following year,
 3865. he made a descent into Syria with an army of foreign
 Ant. J. C. troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece,
 139. Asia minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field, and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to an hundred and twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and he retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus besieged him there by sea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea towards Orthosia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding to Apamæa, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called *Sidetes*, or *the hunter*, from the word *Zidab*, which has the same signification in the Syriack language.

Simon, established in the government of Judæa by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate, in consequence, caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, * Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates

* This letter was addressed to Demetrius, though prisoner amongst the Parthians, because the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes, nor Tryphon.

dates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia minor, and the islands with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and in consequence they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had only granted Simon so advantageous an alliance from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interest of the state, as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judæa under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

Phyſcon had reigned seven years in Egypt (*m*). A. M. 3866.
Ant. J. C. 138. History relates nothing of him, during all that time, but monstrous vices and detestable cruelties. Never was there a prince so abandoned to debauch, and at the same time so cruel and bloody. All the rest of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both said and acted in publick the extravagancies of an infant, by which he drew upon himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, his first minister, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom, in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given, in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into the service of Ptolemy Phyſcon, and soon became his captain-general, and prime minister. As he was valiant in the field, and able in council, by causing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his master committed, by a wise and equitable government, and by preventing or redressing them as much as possible, he had been

(*m*) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. & l. vi. p. 252. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1, & 2.

been till then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.

A. M. But in the following years, whether Hierax was
 3868.
 Ant. J. C. dead, or the prudence and ability of that first mini-
 136. ster were no longer capable of restraining the folly of
 this prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worse than
 ever. Physcon, without any reason, caused the great-
 est part of those to be put to death, who had expres-
 sed the most zeal in procuring him the crown after his
 brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head.
 Athenæus places Hierax in this number; but without
 mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at
 least banished, most of those who had been in favour
 with Philometor his brother, or had only held employ-
 ments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign
 troops to plunder and murder at discretion, he terri-
 fied Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the
 inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary
 to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained
 almost a desert. To supply their places, when he
 perceived that nothing remained but empty houses,
 he caused proclamation to be made in all the neigh-
 bouring countries, that whosoever would come and
 settle there, of whatsoever nation they were, should
 meet with the greatest encouragements and advantages.
 There were considerable numbers whom this propo-
 sal suited very well. The houses that had been aban-
 doned, were given to them, and all the rights, privi-
 leges and immunities granted them, which had been
 enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the
 city was re-peopled.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria,
 there was a great number of grammarians, philoso-
 phers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other
 masters in the liberal sciences, it happened from thence,
 that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in
 Greece, Asia minor, and the islands; in a word, in
 every place to which the illustrious fugitives carried
 them. The continual wars between the successors of
 Alexander, had almost extinguished the sciences in
 all

all those countries, and they would have been entirely lost in those times of confusion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his Musæum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second and third, following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria became the city of the world, where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied, or professed some or other of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant, of whom I speak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence was to make it their business to teach what they knew. They opened schools in those countries for that purpose, and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price; which very much increased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive wherever they were dispersed; that is to say, throughout what we call the whole East, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the West, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that strangers came in crowds to (*n*) re-people Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greatest persons in the state were sent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece; and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them

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K k

were

(*n*) Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273. & l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. Legat. xxxii.

were observed; and to remedy whatever they should find amiss. They discharged themselves of this commission with so much equity, justice, and address, and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences, that as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts where they had passed, to return the senate thanks for having sent persons of such extraordinary merit amongst them, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.

The first place they went to, according to their instructions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themselves, they affected state so little, that at their entry, Scipio, who was the greatest personage of Rome, had only one friend with him, which was Panesius the philosopher, and five domesticks *. Not his domesticks, says an historian, but his victories were considered: He was not esteemed for his gold or his silver, but for his personal virtues and qualities. Though during their whole residence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be served with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most simple and common meats; despising all the rest, as serving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp assumed their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up to the Nile to visit Memphis, and the other parts of Egypt. They saw with their own eyes, or were informed upon the places themselves, the infinite number of cities, and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants contained in that kingdom; the strength of its natural situation; the fertility of its soil, and all

* Cum per socios & exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri & argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis ornis secum ferret, æstimabatur. *Val. Max.*

all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Physcon, who then reigned, was nothing less than a king. Nothing was so wretched as the idea he gave them of himself in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices, I have already made mention, and shall be obliged to give farther proofs of them in the sequel. The deformity of his * body sufficiently corresponded with that of his mind: Nothing was ever worse put together. His stature was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a size, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nickname of *Physcon*. Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff, that all his deformity might be seen through it. He never appeared in publick but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of his intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panetius, told him in his ear, smiling, *The Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing their king walk on foot.*

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings, of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itself, by the most horrid vices. It is surprizing to see in that long list of kings, whose history we have related, how few there are who deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of dissolution and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was as great a prodigy of wisdom and virtue as could be found

K k 2

amongst

* *Quam cruentes civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim & vultu deformis, & statura brevis & sagina ventris non homini sed belluæ similis. Quam foeditatem nimia subtilitas perlucidæ vestis augebat, prorsus quasi astu inspicienda præberentur, quæ* *omni studio occultanta pudibundo viro erant. Justin. l. viii. c. 8.*
Athenæus says, ὡς οὐκ ἐνδεσπόμενος ὡς ἕως εἰ μὴ δὴ δυνάμει. Which the interpreter translates, Pedibus ille nunquam ex regia prodibat, sed perpetuo Scipione subnixus; instead of nisi propter Scipionem.

amongst the Pagans. Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. *Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Attalus, king of Pergamus, died (o) about the times of which we now speak. His nephew, of the same name, called also Philometor, succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eumenes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, though he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable, most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best friends of his house. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, to have their throats cut, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of a disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she had been taken very naturally. He put others also to death upon suspicions entirely frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel of nations, to make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury, in this manner, the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to shew himself abroad. He appeared
no

(o) Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demet. p. 897. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 370.

no more in the city, and eat no longer in publick. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow without taking any care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital crimes used to do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge his own late iniquity.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, and retired into his garden, and applied to digging the ground himself, and sow all sorts of venomous, as well as wholesome, herbs; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as presents to his friends. He past all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagancies of the like nature, which, happily for his subjects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five years.

He took it into his head to practise the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal, on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in seven days, and delivered his subjects from an abominable tyrant.

He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was expressed in these terms, (p) LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT ALL MY FORTUNES.

As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion, and ascending the tribunal of harangues, proposed a law to this effect, That all the ready money which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed amongst the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support them-

K k 3

selves

A. M.
3871.
Ant. J. C.
133.

(p) Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. & xxxvii. c. 1. Vell. Pat. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. xiv. p. 646. Oros. l. 5. c. 8—10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

selves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added; that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people; which extremely offended the senate. That tribune was killed some small time after.

A. M. 3872.
Ant. J. C. 132. Aristonicus, however, who reported himself of the blood-royal, was active to take possession of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the son of Eumenes by a courtesan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, out of their fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force.

A. M. 3873.
Ant. J. C. 131. As his party grew stronger every day, the Romans sent the consul Crassus Mucianus against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to the states of Asia minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops.

A. M. 3874.
Ant. J. C. 130. Notwithstanding such powerful supports, having engaged in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconsul, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna.

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, soon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, entirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

He sent Aristonicus to Rome, in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treasures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out; and some time after Perpenna, who had begun his journey, died of disease at Pergamus. Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus; was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Asia.

A. M.
3875.
Ant. J. C.
129.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared against the Romans, as well in this last war, as in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders, as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. As just as their indignation was against Phocæa, they could not refuse that favour to the ardent solicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it, by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia major was granted to Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death they dispossessed his son, the Great Mithridates, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the services of the father, added Lycania and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a step-mother. To secure all authority to herself, she poisoned five of her children, and the sixth would have had the same fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Mægara,

whose crimes the people soon revenged by a violent death.

A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 126. Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having been shewn there for a sight to the people, was carried to prison, where he was strangled. Such were the consequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in the letter which he wrote afterwards to Arsaces, king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having * forged a false will of Attalus's, in order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right: But it is a declared enemy who charges them with this. It is more surprizing that Horace in one of his odes seems to make the Roman people the same reproach, and to insinuate, that they had attained the succession by fraud:

(q) Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

*Nor have I seiz'd, an heir unknown,
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.*

However, there remains no trace in history of any secret intrigue or solicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

(q) Hor. Od. xviii. l. 2.

* Similato impio testamento, verat, hostium more per triumphum ejus (Eumenis) Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum peti- phum duxere. *Apud Sallust. in Fragm.*

SECT. V. ANTIOCHUS SIDETES *besieges JOHN HYRCANUS in Jerusalem. That city surrenders by capitulation. He makes war against the Parthians, and perishes in it. PHRAATES, king of the Parthians, defeated in his turn by the Scythians. PHYSCON commits more horrible cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it. CLEOPATRA, his first wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of DEMETRIUS, and is soon reduced to leave Egypt. PHYSCON returns thither, and re-ascends the throne. By his means ZEBINA dethrones DEMETRIUS, who is soon after killed. The kingdom is divided between CLEOPATRA, the wife of DEMETRIUS, and ZEBINA. ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS ascends the throne of Syria. The famous MITHRIDATES begins to reign in Pontus. PHYSCON'S death.*

SIMON having been slain (a) by treason, with two of his sons, John, another of them, surnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-priest and prince of the Jews in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

A. M.
3869.
Ant. J. C.
131.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not known in the camp. Those who were about the king's person, pressed him to take the advantage of the present occasion for exterminating the Jewish nation. They represented to him, recurring to past ages, that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they

(a) 1 Maccab. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Diod. Eclog. i. p. 901.

were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hated for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, says, that it was from the pure effect of the generosity and clemency of Antiochus, the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed, that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: The peace was concluded upon these conditions. Antiochus also demanded, that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison into it; but Hyrcanus would not consent to that, upon account of the miseries the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of (b) five hundred talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and because it could not be immediately ratified, hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

A. M. 3870. Ant. J. C. 134. Scipio Africanus the younger, going (c) to command in Spain during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in publick, sitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the * quæstor, to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers

(b) Five hundred thousand crowns.
 * The quæstor was the treasurer of the army.

(c) Epit: Liv. l. lviii.

diers who should distinguish themselves in the service. By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

Demetrius Nicator (*d*) had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in the midst of his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-establish Demetrius upon the throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.

A. M.
3873.
Ant. J. C.
134.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprized of this design or no, thought proper to prevent it, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the East, which his ancestors had always possessed from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army was upwards of fourscore thousand men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, pastry-cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that they were almost four times as many as the soldiers, and might amount to about three hundred thousand. There may be some exaggeration in this account, but if two-thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths. The luxury of the camp was in
pro-

(*d*) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9, & 10. l. xxxix. c. 1. Oros. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 210. & l. x. p. 439. & l. xii. p. 540. Joseph. Antiq. l. xix. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

proportion to the number of those that administered to it. * Gold and silver glittered universally, even upon the legs of the private soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were silver, as if they had been marching to a feast, and not to a war.

Antiochus had great success at first. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the East, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all these victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the winter in the East. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to separate, and remove so far from each other, that they could not easily rejoin and form a body, in case of being attacked. The inhabitants, whom they insulted extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests that nothing could satisfy, conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in their quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him, but was overpowered by numbers, and perished himself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners; so that out of so great a multitude, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news of this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many
excel-

* Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro figerent, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro di-

micant. Culinarum quo argentea instrumenta fuere quasi ad epulas non ad bella pergerent. *Justin.*

excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch (e) relates a saying of his, very much to his honour. One day, having lost himself a hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor people, who received him in the best manner they could, without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct of the king, they said, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunting, made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage, he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them by way of reproach, *Since I have taken you into my service, I have not heard a truth concerning myself till yesterday.*

A. M.
3874.
Ant. J. C.
130.

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles, as would reduce Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had marched with so much diligence, that he had passed the Euphrates before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion, whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors, and having found one of his daughters amongst the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus

(e) Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 284.

Antiochus being dead (*f*), Hyrcanus took the advantage of the troubles and divisions, which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himself master of many places in Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured also at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well in that endeavour, that from thenceforth neither himself nor any of his descendants depended in the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.

A. M. 3875.
Ant. J. C. 129. Phraates (*g*), flushed with his great successes, and the victory he had gained, was for carrying the war into Syria, to revenge Antiochus's invasion of his dominions. But, whilst he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of disquieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pursued by Antiochus, as we have seen, he demanded aid of that people. When they arrived, the affair was terminated, and having no farther occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have disgusted so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice, and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he should considerably reinforce them by that

(*f*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 761. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. (*g*) Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1. & l. xlii. c. i, & 2.

that means. But when they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill treatment they had suffered during their captivity; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, whilst the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and almost his whole army. The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was sur-named the Great.

During all these revolutions (*b*) in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed, that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed the son she had by his brother in her arms, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to re-people it, and supply the place of those his first cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place of exercise, when

A. M.
3874.
Ant. J. C.
130.

(*b*) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. l. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2---7. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Epit. l. lix, lx. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 374---376. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed, that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and adherents.

A. M. 3875.
Ant. J. C. 129.
But first, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed, that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action, and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princess, which approached, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed, which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and unheard-of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the publick, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to their arms, and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster

monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marfyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

Ptolemy Physcon having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought, and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marfyas prisoner, and sent him laden with chains to Physcon; it was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments, but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and set him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius, king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometor, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without hesitation, accepted that proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance, and employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Ancioch began, and after them those of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter, Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra the daughter, had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the life-time of her father Philometor. But Demetrius having been taken prisoner by the Parthians,

and detained amongst them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had re-possest himself of Syria: She kept her court at Ptolemais when her mother came to her.

A. M. 3877.
Ant. J. C. 127.
Phyſcon, as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and re-assumed the government. For after the defeat of Marſyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in condition to oppose him. After having employed some time in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of Demetrius, he set up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himself out for the son of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. Phyſcon lent him an army to put him in possession of it. He was no sooner in Syria, than, without examining the justice of his pretensions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They were in no pain about the person who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damascus in Cœloſyria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongst the Parthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and caused the gates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think, that in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of dispute and emulation between the princes and princesses, who should distinguish themselves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes. Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra reserved to herself part of the kingdom: Zebina had all the rest; and, to establish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able statesman, took the advantage of these divisions to strengthen himself, and

to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other considerable advantages which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had sent the preceding year an (*i*) embassy to Rome, to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The senate received those ambassadors very graciously, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; that he had taken several cities, had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places, of which he had made cession to them; and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous peace, by besieging the city of Jerusalem: Upon what the ambassadors represented to the senate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews from the treaty made with Simon, and resolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenour of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other subjection. It was also concluded, that the Syrians should make amends for all losses that the Jews had sustained from them in contravention to the senate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon; in fine, that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops upon the territories of the Jews.

At the time we speak of (*k*), incredible swarms of grasshoppers laid Africa waste in an unheard-of manner. They eat up all the fruits of the earth, and afterwards, being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and infected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Lybia, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Africa, more than eight hundred thousand souls.

L 1 2

We

(*i*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.
Gros. l. v. c. 11.

(*k*) Liv. Epit. l. lx.

A. M.
3879.
Ant. J. C.
125.

A. M.
3880.
Ant. J. C.
124.

We have said, that Cleopatra (*l*) had possessed herself of part of the kingdom of Syria at the death of Demetrius Nicator her husband. He left two sons by that princess, the eldest of which, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of ascending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was for reigning alone, and was very much offended at her son's intention to establish himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear, that he might desire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman, and a mother, could be capable of committing so horrid and excessive a crime: But when some unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes the source of every kind of guilt. As gentle as it appears, it is not far from arming itself with poniards, and from having recourse to poison; because urgent for the attainment of its ends, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which opposes that view.

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted against him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, and resolved to defend that place against him. But he found means to reconcile them. They submitted, and he pardoned them with the most uncommon clemency and greatness of soul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all that approached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that he acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhorred the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Evergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was assassinated by his own servants. His son, who succeeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who disputed so long the empire of Asia

with

(*l*) Liv. Epit. l. lx. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1, 2. Appian, in Syr. p. 132.

with the Romans, and supported a war of almost thirty years duration against them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I shall make his history a separate article.

Cleopatra, after having killed her eldest son, believed it for her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she might conceal the authority she intended to retain entirely to herself. She rightly distinguished, that a warlike people, accustomed to be governed by kings, would always regard the throne as vacant, whilst filled only by a princess, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that should set up for it. She therefore caused her other son Antiochus to return from Athens, whither she had sent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of the government; and as that prince was very young, being no more than twenty years of age, he suffered her to govern for some time with patience enough. To distinguish him from other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the surname of * *Grypus*, taken from his great nose. Josephus calls him *Philometor*; but that prince in his medals took the title of *Epiphanes*.

A. M.
3881.
Ant. J. C.
123.

Zebina having well established himself, after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, who looked upon him as his creature, insisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up, and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expences of the war. Upon its being

A. M.
3882.
Ant. J. C.
122.

L 1 3

dis-

• *ὄνξ* in Greek, signifies a man with an aquiline nose.

discovered, the inhabitants rose, and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last, and put to death.

A. M. 3884.
Ant. J. C. 120. After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished, and grandeur eclipsed by that means, could not suffer it. To render herself absolute mistress of the government of Syria again, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from some exercise. But that prince having been apprized of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself, and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicion conceived of her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or resource, swallowed the draught. The poison had its effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who by her unheard-of crimes had been so long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of three * kings of Syria, and the mother of four. She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands, and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poison he made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the publick,

* The three kings of Syria, who were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyprian, by Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons

lick, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother, Antiochus of Cyzicum, occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt (*m*), after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometor, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his.

SECT. VI. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS *succeeds* PHYSCON.

War between GRYPUS and his brother ANTIOCHUS of Cyzicum, for the kingdom of Syria. HYRCANUS fortifies himself in Judæa. His death. ARISTOBULUS succeeds him, and assumes the title of king. He is succeeded by ALEXANDER JANNÆUS. CLEOPATRA drives LATHYRUS out of Egypt, and places ALEXANDER his youngest brother on the throne in his stead. War between that princess and her sons. Death of GRYPUS. PTOLEMY APION leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians chuse TIGRANES king. LATHYRUS is re-established upon the throne of Egypt. He dies. ALEXANDER his nephew succeeds him. NICOMEDES, king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs.

PHYSCON (*n*) at his death left three sons. The first, named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to which of his two sons she should think fit to chuse. Cleopatra, believing that Alexander would be the most com-
A. M. 387.
Ant. J. C. 117.

L 14

plaisant,

(*m*) Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in Daæ. ix. (*n*) Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. sub finem & in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. & l. vi. c. 30. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 385.

plaisant, resolved to chuse him; but the people would not suffer the eldest to lose his right of birth, and obliged the queen to recall him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the crown, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selena, his younger sister, for whom he had no inclination. Dispositions of this kind promise no very pacifick reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of * Lathyrus. However, as that is but a kind of nickname, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

A. M. 3890.
Ant. J. C. 114. Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilst Demetrius was prisoner amongst the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and re-possessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his safety, had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situate upon the Propontis, in Mysia minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch, named Craterus, to whom she had entrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, was for having him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenian was reduced to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.

A. M. 3891.
Ant. J. C. 113. Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenian. She brought him an † army for her dowry,

* *Λάβηρα* signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin *cicer*, from which came the surname of *Cicero*. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name had been inconsistent.
† We find in the latter editions of Justin the following words; exercitum

dowry, to assist him against his competitor. Their forces, by that means, being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenean having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife for her security in that place, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army.

But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earnest with him to put Cleopatra his prisoner into her hands. Though her sister by father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and given him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in a sanctuary, which was held inviolable; Grypus would not have a complaisance for his wife, which he saw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alledged to her the sanctity of the asylum where her sister had taken refuge; and represented, that her death would neither be of use to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenean. That in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known, after victory, that any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially so near relations. That Cleopatra was her sister, and his near * relation. That therefore he desired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent to her being treated with any severities. † Tryphena, far from giving into his reasons, became more violent by conceiving jealousy; and imagining, that it was not from the motive of compassion, but love, that her husband took the part of that unfortunate princess in such a manner, she therefore sent soldiers into the temple,

citum Grypi sollicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit; which shews, that Cleopatra having succeeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read Cypri instead of Grypi, which implies,

that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

** Her father Physcon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.*

† Sed quanto Grypus abnuit tanto muliebri pertinacia accenditur, rata non misericordiae hæc verba, sed amoris esse. Justin.

ple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands with which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whose fight so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all with either the fate of the one, or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance she might have occasion for, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

A. M. 3982.
Ant. J. C. 112. The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpunished. The Cyzicenean returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.

A. M. 3893.
Ant. J. C. 111. Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian, but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenean had Cœlosyria and Phœnicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch. Both gave alike into luxury, and many other excesses.

A. M. 3894.
Ant. J. C. 110. Whilst the two brothers (b) were exhausting their forces against one another, or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious sloth and ease, John Hyrcanus augmented

(b) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17—19.

augmented his wealth and power; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to form the siege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicene, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty.

The two brothers after this victory returned to the siege, and pressed the siege so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicene, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and Lathyrus, king of Egypt, was treated with upon the same head, who granted six thousand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, both ministers and generals, the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, those two ministers, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation, and out of regard for them, she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicene joined them with his. He was afraid to attack the army that formed the siege, and contented himself with flying parties and excursions, to ravage the country by way of diversion, and to reduce the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some parties, desertion, and other accidents; he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates.

A. M.
3895.
Ant. J. C.
109.

Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprize, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no farther thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and the houses of the inhabitants, were entirely razed and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut through the new plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod, who gave the new city, he caused to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebastos (*c*), in honour of Augustus.

Hyrcanus saw himself at that time master of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his times. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed the rest of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

But towards the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The Pharisees, a violent and rebellious sect, gave him abundance of difficulties. By an affected profession of an attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured, by all sorts of favours, to engage them in his interests. Besides, having been educated amongst them, and having always professed their sect, he had protected and served them

upon all occasions; and to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting rational minds. He represented, That it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to God, that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Pharisees: That he conjured them therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect: "Since you desire that the truth should be told you with freedom, if you would prove yourself just, renounce the high-priesthood, and content yourself with the civil government." Hyrcanus was surprized, and asked him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. Eleazar replied, that it was known, from the testimony of ancient persons worthy of belief, that his mother was a captive, and that as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar (*d*) would have had reason; for the law was express in that point: But it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and all that were present extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expressed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however, occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in question the purity of his birth, and, in consequence, his right to
the

the high-priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend, and a zealous Sadducee, took the advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judæa, but directly opposite to each other in sentiments and interests, entirely divided the state; that of the Pharisees, and that of the Sadducees. The first piqued themselves upon an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more strictly adhered than to the law itself, though often contrary to each other. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and, in consequence, another life after this. They affected an outside of virtue, regularity, and austerity, which acquired them great consideration with the people. But under that impositious appearance they concealed the greatest vices: Sordid avarice; insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent desire of ruling alone; an envy, that rose almost to fury, against all merit but their own; an irreconcilable hatred for all who presumed to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horrid excesses; and what was still their more distinguishing characteristic, and outdid all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Pharisaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body, and admitted no felicity, but that to be enjoyed in this life. The rich people, nobility, and most of those who composed the Sanhedrim, that is to say, the great council of the Jews; in which the affairs of state and religion were determined, were of the latter sect.

Jonathan, therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus into his party, insinuated to him, that what had passed was not the mere suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that to convince him of the truth,

he had only to consult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deserved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the principal of the Pharisees upon the punishment due to him, who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the punishment he deserved, was to be scourged and imprisoned. So much lenity in so hainous a case, made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had insinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole sect of the Pharisees. He prohibited, by decree, the observation of the rules founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon such as disobeyed that ordinance; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himself into that of the Sadducees their enemies.

Hyrcanus did not long survive this storm: He died the year following, after having been high-priest and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years.

A. M.

3897.

Ant. J. C.

107.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I shall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I shall treat the history of the Jews separately.

We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus (*e*) had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithstanding her opposition. She carried her resentment so high upon this attempt, and some others of a like nature, against her authority, that she took his wife Selena from him, by whom he had two sons *, and obliged him to quit Egypt. Her method to do this, was to have some of his favourite eunuchs wounded, and produced in an assembly of the people at Alexandria. She caused it to be reported, that he had used them so barbarously for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence,

(*e*) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 4.

* *Those two sons died before him.*

lence, and enflamed the people so much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he designed to kill her, that they immediately rose universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship, which set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent soon after for Alexander her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Alexander, (*f*) king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changing their sentiments, from the apprehension of having him for their master, Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprized that the latter was negotiating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces, in order to drive him out of Palestine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and resolved to do him all the hurt he could.

The next year he did not fail in that point. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them, under the command of one of his generals, to form the siege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied; and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza had supplied Lathyrus with a considerable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost thirty thousand men, without including the prisoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory.

A most cruel and horrid action is related of Lathyrus upon this occasion. The same evening he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbourhood

neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and caused them all to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces, and put into cauldrons, in order to their being dressed, as if he intended to make his army sup upon them. His design was to have it believed, that his troops eat human flesh, to spread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe such a barbarity possible, or that any man should ever conceive so wild a thought? Josephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the flat country. Without the succours brought by Cleopatra the following year, Alexander had been undone, for after so considerable a loss it was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head against his enemy.

That princess saw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himself master of Judæa and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was necessary to put a stop to his progress. For that purpose she raised an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have spoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the same time, to transport her troops; and embarking with them herself, landed in Phœnicia (g). She carried with her a great sum of money, and her richest jewels. For their security, in case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their repository, and sent thither at the same time her grandson Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, and of the treasures laid up there, he took that young prince into his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates, some time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection,

A. M.
3901.
Ant. J. C.
103.

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M m

carried

carried him to Rome, and, at length, set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Cœlosyria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais herself. Chelcias, who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw himself with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phœnicia. He was mistaken. The troops Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of those she detached to reinforce them from Phœnicia, upon receiving advice of his design. He was reduced to return into Palestine, and took up his winter-quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra however pushed the siege of Ptolemais with so much vigour, that she at last took it. As soon as she entered it, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him to recommend him to her favour. But what conduced most to his success, was her hatred for her son Lathyrus; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

Some persons of Cleopatra's court observed to her, that she had now a fair opportunity of making herself mistress of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by seizing his person: They even pressed her to take the advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her, how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, engaged with her in the same cause; that it would be acting contrary to honour and faith, which are the foundations of society; that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually

A. M.
3902.
Ant. J. C.
102.

effectually used his reasons and credit, which he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his countryman and relation, that she came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of what value to princes is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine, whilst his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her side, retired also into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both.

A. M.
3903.
Ant. J. C.
101.

Being (*b*) informed, upon her return into Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyzicenean, and that with the aid he expected from him, he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selena, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him, at the same time, a considerable number of troops, and great sums of money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the Cyzicenean with vigour. The affair succeeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenean had so much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she pursued his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy, and observing besides, that the greatest crimes cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; that prince did not believe himself safe

M m 2

near

(*b*) Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4.

near her, and chose to abandon the throne and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant solicitation he was prevailed upon to return; for the people could not resolve that she should reign alone, though they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king; that from the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the royal authority to herself; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97. The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty-seven years. He left five sons; Seleucus the eldest succeeded him; the four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Eucharès, and Antiochus Dionysius. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown.

A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96. Ptolemy Apion (*i*), son of Physcon, king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will, who, instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which soon filled the whole country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done.

A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Antiochus the Cyzicenean seized Antioch (*k*), after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus's children of the rest of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many

(*i*) Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 5.
 (*k*) Porphy. in Græc. Scal.

many other good cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia (*l*), A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. who had been kept an hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was released at his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians. This happened twenty-five years before he espoused the part of Mithridates against the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia.

The Cyzicenean (*m*), who saw that Seleucus strengthened himself every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made prisoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenean, who made his escape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, and went to Aradus *, where he caused himself to be crowned king. From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the imposition of gross subsidies upon them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in the flames. A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94.

Antiochus and Philip, the twin-sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93.

M m 3

vouring

(*l*) Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. (*m*) Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal.

* An island and city of Phœnicia.

vouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selena the widow of Grypus. That politick princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to secure part of the empire in her own possession, and had provided herself with good troops. Eusebes married her therefore for the augmentation of his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for that injury, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Eucharès, the fourth son of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other to prevent that blow. For though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip, however, still supported himself, and at last so totally defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongst the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius.

Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, re-possest himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands, almost at the same time: This was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, made himself king of Cœlosyria, and supported himself in it for three years.

A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. Affairs (*n*) were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy more rare in Egypt, than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being able to suffer a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to rid

(*n*) Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. l. xii. p. 550.

rid herself of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprized of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither mother, sons, nor daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own.

I do not doubt, but the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidants; who all in cold blood, with premeditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the most odious and most inhuman means to those effects. Never was the anger of heaven more distinguished, or more dreadful than upon these princes and people. We see here a sad complication of the blackest and most detestable crimes, perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, poisoning, incest. Princes on a sudden become monsters, disputing treachery and wickedness with each other, attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a situation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems to call for it in the loudest manner.

As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that Alexander had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects, that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having got some ships together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the

year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

A. M. 3921. The Syrians (*o*), weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Seleucus for the sovereignty, and not being able to suffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils those divisions occasioned, and restore the tranquillity of their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy king of Egypt. But the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes king of Armenia, and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came to Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recall from that office, till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it was not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action against Tigranes. Selena, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœlo-syria, and (*p*) reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her two sons an education worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus Cybiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Some time (*q*) after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion

(*o*) Justin. l. xl. c. 1, & 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Joseph. Ant. q. l. xiii. c. 24. (*p*) Cic. in Ver. n. 61. Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. xvii. p. 196. (*q*) Pausan. in Attic. p. 15.

bellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels, being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was at length taken after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigour, that from being the greatest and richest city till then in Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.

Lathyrus did not long survive the ruin of Thebes. To compute from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the established custom of that house, all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra. A. M. 3923.
Ant. J. C. 81.

Sylla (*r*), at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, sent Alexander to take possession of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest heir male of the defunct. He was the son of that Alexander who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already set Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the master of Rome, and, in consequence, dispenser of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed, that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife, or would have no associate in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in those times, and might be said to have grown into fashion among princes and princesses.

Some time (*s*) after, Nicomedes king of Bithynia, A. M. died, 3923.
Ant. J. C. 76.

(*r*) Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 414. Porphy. in Græc. Scal. p. 60.

(*s*) Appian. in Mithridat. p. 218. De Bel. Civil. l. i. p. 420. Liv. Epit. l. lxx, & xciii. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

died, having first made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica did also the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty. Twenty years had passed since, during which term, sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, to put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province.

SECT. VII. *SELENA, sister of LATHYRUS, conceives hopes of the crown of Egypt; she sends two of her sons to Rome for that purpose. The eldest, called ANTIOCHUS, on his return goes to Sicily. VERRER, prætor of that island, takes from him a golden scone, designed for the Capitol. ANTIOCHUS, surnamed ASIATICUS, after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is dispossessed of part of his dominions by POMPEY, who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Judæa and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel ALEXANDER their king, and set PTOLEMY AULETES on the throne in his stead. ALEXANDER, at his death, makes the Roman people his heirs. In consequence, some years after, they order PTOLEMY, king of Cyprus, brother of AULETES, to be deposed, confiscated his fortunes, and seize that island. The celebrated CATO is charged with this commission.*

A. M. (a) **S**OME * troubles which happened in Egypt, occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander,

593^r.
Ant. J. C.
73.

(a) Cic. vi. in Ver. Orat. n. 61---67.

* Reges Syriæ, reges Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romæ nuper fuisse: qui venerant non propter Syriæ regnum, nam id sine controversiâ obtinebant, ut a patre & a majoribus acceperant; sed regnum Ægypti ad se & Selenam

matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, postquam temporibus populi Romani exclusi, per senatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam in regnum patrium profecti sunt.

ander, made Selena, the sister of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf. The important affairs which employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which she had always opposed the kings who were for joining the forces of Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldest *, called Antiochus, resolved to pass by the way of Sicily. He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shews how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of, to what excess the avarice of the magistrates sent into the provinces rose, and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, and in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres † was at that time prætor in Sicily. As soon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables set off with all his vessels of the most excellent

* Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.

† Itaque isto (Verre) prætore venit Syracusas. Hic Verres hæreditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quod in ejus regnum ac manus veneratis, quem ille & audierat multa secum præclara habere, & suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis larga: hæc ad usum domesticum, vini, olei quod visum

erat, etiam triciti quod satis esset. Deinde ipsum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat ample magnificeque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea.—Omnibus curat rebus instructum & paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut & istum copiose ornatum, & se honorifice acceptum arbitraretur.

cellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

He * invites Verres to supper in his turn ; exposes all his riches, multitudes of silver vessels, and not few cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, and especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine, made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand one after the other, praises and admires them ; the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is so well pleased with his entertainment.

From † thenceforth the latter had no other thoughts than how to rattle Antiochus, and send him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of shewing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The prætor sent again, to desire that he would lend him the vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might consider them more exactly, as he said. The king sent him that also.

But to crown all, ‡ the kings of Syria, of whom
we

* Vocat ad cenam deinde ipse prætorem. Exponit suas copias omnes : multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ ut mos est regius, & maxime in Syria, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pergrandi.— Iste unumquodque vos in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani satis jucundum & gratum illud esse convivium.

† Postea quam inde discessum est, cogitare iste nihil aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quemad-

modum regem ex provincia spoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatam vasa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat : ait se suis cælatoribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui istum non nosset, sine ulla suspitione libentissime dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum : velle se eam diligentius considerare. Ea quoque mittitur.

‡ Nunc reliquum, judices, attendite—Candelabrum è gemmis clarissimis opere mirabili perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romanam cum attulissent ut in Capitolio ponerent ; quod nondum etiam per-

we speak, had carried a branch-sconce with them to Rome, of singular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the Capitol, which had been burnt during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor suffer any body to have a sight of it; in order, that when it should appear at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the surprize might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendor to the present. They therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongst many others to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

Verres * was informed of all this by some means or other; for the prince had taken care to keep the sconce concealed; not that he feared or suspected any thing, but that few people might see it before exposed to the publick view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly begged him to send it him,

perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere, neque vulgò ostendere ac proferre voluerunt; ut, & magnificentius videretur, cum suo tempore in sella Jovis Opt. Max. poneretur, & clarius, cum pulchritudo ejus recens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id secum in Syriam reportare, ut, cum audissent simulacrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cum cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent.

* Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat: non quo quidquam metueret aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud antè perciperent oculis, quam populus Romanus. Iste perit a rege, & cum plurimus verbis rogat, uti ad se mittat: cupere se dicit inspicere, neque se aliis videndi potestatem

esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo & puerili esset & regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est. Imperat suis, ut id in prætorium involutum quam occultissime deferrent. Quò posteaquàm attulerunt, involocrisque rejectis constituerunt, iste clamare cœpit, dignam rem esse regno Syriæ, dignam régio munere, dignam Capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis & plurimis gemmis esse debebat; ea varietate operum ut ars certare videretur cum copia; ea magnitudine, ut intelligi posset, non ad hominum apparatus, sed ad amplissimi templi ornamentum, esse factum. Quod cum satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt ut referrent. Iste ait se velie illud etiam atque etiam considerare: nequaquam se esse satiatum. Jubet illos discedere, & candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.

him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let nobody else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his birth were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the sconce secretly to Verres, well covered from sight; which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, this is a present worthy of a prince; worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the Capitol. For it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art seemed to vie with the materials; and at the same time of so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish, it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus, having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back, but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the sconce with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The * king was not alarmed at first, and had no suspicion: One day, two days, several days passed, and the sconce was not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned then. At length he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? That very sconce,

* *Rex primo nihil metuere, nihil suspicari. Dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit rex ad istum, si sibi videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iste posterius ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quodque ex ipso rege audisset, in Capitolio esse ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. servari videret, id sibi ut donaret,*

rogare & vehementer petere cœpit. Cum ille se religione Jovis Capitolini & hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quod multæ nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris: iste homini minari acerrimi cœpit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quam precibus permoveri, repente hominem de provincia jubet ante noctem discendere. Ait se comperisse, ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam esse venturos.

sconce, which he knew from the prince himself was to be set up in the Capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter, and the Roman people, Verres earnestly intreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had been concerned in the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action: The prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms; but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his intreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night, and alledged for his reason, that he had received advice from good hands, that pirates of Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The * king upon that withdrew to the publick place, and, with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a numerous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a sconce of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the Capitol, to be a monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he was not concerned, and did not complain, for the other vessels of gold and jewels which Verres had got from him; but that to see that sconce taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront, that made him inconsolable. That though by his own, and the intention of his brother, that sconce was already consecrated to Jupiter, however, he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called

* Rex maximo conventu Syracusis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque contestans, clamare cœpit, candelabrum factum e gemmis, quod in Capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo, populo Rom. monumentum suæ societatis amicitiaque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse. De cæteris operibus ex auro & gemmis, quæ

sua penes illum essent, se non laborare: hoc sibi eripi miserum esse & indignum. Id etsi antea jam, mente & cogitatione suæ fratrisque sui, consecratum esset: tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicare, consecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. testemque ipsum Jovem suæ voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.

called Jupiter to witness to the sentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.

A. M.
3939.
Ant. J. C.
65.

Antiochus Asiaticus, being returned into Asia, soon after ascended the throne; he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. Pompey deprived him of his kingdom, during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What thoughts could foreign nations conceive, and how odious ought the name of Roman to be to them when they heard it told, that in a Roman province, a king had been so grossly injured by the prætor himself, a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence! And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by Rome into provinces; a crime which the senate and people seemed to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. “We * have seen for several years,” says the same Cicero, in another of his orations against Verres, “and have suffered in silence, the wealth of all nations to be transferred into the hands of a few private persons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletus, Chio, Samos, in fine, all Asia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now enclosed in some of the country-houses of those rich and unjust men of rapine, whilst money is universally a prodigious rarity every where else. And we have just reason to believe, that ourselves connive in all these crying and terrible disorders, as those who commit, take no manner of pains to conceal them, nor to hide their thefts and
“depra-

* Patimur multos jam annos & filemus, cum videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quodeo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur.—Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse

arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cum Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samam, totam denique Asiam, Achaïam, Græciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis inclusas esse videatis. *Cic. in Ver. ult. de Suppl.* n. 125, 126.

“depredations from the eyes and knowledge of the publick.”

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men's most secret retirements, to use that expression, to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests: To which however we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, that continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be rid by them. His death (*b*) did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation, according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess, at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir, but Aristobulus, his younger brother, had the strongest party, and took his place.

Nothing (*c*) but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians, weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed *Auletes*, that is to say, *the player upon the flute*, because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the publick games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him; Pompey

A. M.
3925.
Ant. J. C.
79.

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3939.
Ant. J. C.
65.

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would

(*b*) Joseph. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 23, 34. & de Bell. Judaic. r. 4. & A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70. (*c*) Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. xi. Trogus in Prol. xxxix. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate. Some (*d*) were of opinion, that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus, of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus, in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces to provinces, might give too great umbrage, and express too clearly a design formed to engross in the same manner all other states. They believed besides, that this enterprize might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects, which Alexander had at his death, to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard-of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it was established. The usual methods of extending the
bounds

(*d*) Cicer. Orat. ii. in Rullum. n. 41---43.

bounds of a state, are war, victory, and conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacifick and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but it is no less dangerous on that account, I mean seduction: When to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret collusions, and great donations of money, are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, and which, far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict union with that republick, during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to it against their will. It does not appear that they were more solicitous, either in publick or private, with Nicomedes king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives then induced these princes to act in this manner? First, gratitude: The house of Attalus was indebted for all its splendor to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates: And next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea

they had of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman power. They died without children, or lawful successors; for bastards were not looked upon as such. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. They saw with their own eyes, the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the situation of which we speak, had but three things to chuse; either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandes of his kingdom; to restore to his subjects their entire liberty, by instituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury: And the prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them misfortunes as fatal as inevitable.

The execution of the second choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republicks. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependance upon mute laws that have not weight enough to enforce their obedience. They are made for monarchy, and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions and bloody discords did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition?

sition? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans out of a noble disinterestedness, having refused the gift the king had made them of it at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gave itself up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, furious to madness against each other, and, in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or later. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, especially when the royal family was extinct, could support itself, and its independence, long against them. There was an inevitable necessity for its falling into the hands of that people, and for that reason it was highly consistent with prudence to soften the yoke by a voluntary subjection. For they made a great difference between the people who submitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and those who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being reduced, by reiterated defeats, to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated; especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind, and generally speaking, of all foreign yokes, none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to assure the publick tranquillity, than a servitude heavy upon private persons, and prejudicial to society.

Most

Most of the cities were goverened by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniencies and misfortunes of war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republick of Greece in the time of their ancestors. So that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniencies, by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of governors. But those were only transient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress, and which, after all, were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæmonians, against each other, were attended, and still less to the violences and ravages, occasioned by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of the tyrants in many cities and states.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the princes, in leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to excuse the Romans entirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently observed the views of interest, and political motives of their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed private oppressors, who made the Roman people authorize the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example: But there was always a considerable number of citizens, zealous for the publick good, who rose up against those violences, and
declared

declared loudly for justice. This happened in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

Clodius (e), who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be desired in his name to send him money to pay his ransom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, sent him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom, than to take so small an one.

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His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as soon as possible. He had found means to get himself elected tribune of the people; an important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended, that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined, in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so unjust an order in execution, he had credit and address enough to have the justest of the Romans elected, I mean Cato, whom he * removed from the republick, under the pretext of an honourable commission, that he might not find him an obstacle to the violent and criminal designs he meditated. Cato was therefore sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deserved that affront, says an historian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vice sufficiently authorized seizing all his fortunes.

Cato,

(e) Strab. l. iv. p. 684.

* P. Clodius in senatu sub honorificentissimo titulo M. Catonem a rep. relagavit. Qui pelegem tulit, ut is mitteretur in insulam

Cyprum, ad spoliandum regno Ptolemæum omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritum. *Vell. Paterc.* l. ii. c. 45.

Cato (*f*), upon his arrival at Rhodes, sent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably, and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable for his honourable subsistence. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not resolve, after having worn a crown so long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treasures, and put to sea. His design was to have holes bored in the bottom of his ship, that it might sink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, though he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not the courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby * shewed, that he loved them better than he did himself; by the title of king of Cyprus, but in fact the mean slave of his money. He returned to shore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was so large, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce been laid up in the publick treasury. Plutarch makes it amount to almost seven thousand talents, (one million and fifty thousand pounds sterling.) Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and moveables to be sold publickly; reserving only to himself a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoicks, the sentiments of which sect he followed.

The Roman people here take off the mask, and shew themselves not such as they had been in the glorious ages of the republick, full of contempt for riches, and esteem for poverty, but as they were become, after gold and silver had entered Rome in triumph
with

(*f*) Plut. in Cato. p. 776.

* *Proculdubio hic non possedit titulo rex insulæ, animo pecuniæ divitias, sed a divitiis possessus est; miserabile mancipium.*

with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. “ * The Roman people,” says Cicero, “ instead of making it their honour, and “ almost their duty, as formerly, to re-establish the “ kings their enemies, whom they had conquered, “ upon their thrones, now see a king, their ally, or “ at least a constant friend to the republick, who had “ never done them any wrong, of whom neither the “ senate nor any of our generals had ever the least “ complaint, who enjoyed the dominions left him by “ his ancestors in tranquillity, plundered on a sudden “ without any formality, and all his effects sold by “ auction almost before his eyes, by order of the same “ Roman people. This,” continues Cicero, “ shews “ other kings, upon what they are to rely for their “ security ; from this fatal example they learn, that “ amongst us, there needs only the secret intrigue of “ some seditious tribune, for depriving them of their “ thrones, and plundering them at the same time of “ all their fortunes.”

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the justest and most upright man of those times, (but what was the most shining virtue and justice of the Pagans!) should lend his name and service in so notorious an injustice. Cicero, who had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, shews, however, in the same discourse I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and by way of excusing

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him,

* Ptolemæus, rex, si nondum socius at non hostis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom. regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante, est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpura & sceptro & illis insignibus regiis, præconi publico subjiceretur, & imperante populo Rom. qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere consuevit, rex amicus, nulla injuria commemorata, nullis re-
petitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus

publicaretur — Cyprius miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus, fuit; de quo nulla unquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nostros allata est: vivus (ut aiunt) est & videns, cum victu & vestitu suo, publicatus. En cur cæteri reges stabilem esse suam fortunam arbitrentur cum hoc illis funesti anni perditio exemplo videant, per tribunum aliquem se fortunis spoliari (posse) & regno omni nudar. *Cic. Orat. pro Sextino.* n. 57.

him, how much he had dishonoured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reserve for the following book the history of that prince, which merits a particular attention.

END OF VOL. VI.













